

'Unity of party and prospects of victory at a general election would be better served'

Bravura end for Thatcher era

Bandwagons of Major and Hurd start to roll

By ROBIN OAKLEY AND PHILIP WEBSTER

MARGARET Thatcher ended a political era yesterday when she announced that she would resign next week as prime minister. Her withdrawal from the Conservative leadership battle immediately brought in the foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, and the Chancellor, John Major.

The prime minister, with tears in her eyes, told the cabinet with tears at 9.00 am: "I have concluded that the unity of the party and the prospects of victory at a general election would be better served if I stood down to enable cabinet colleagues to enter the ballot."

She had decided overnight that she did not have the troops to win if she were to fight on against Michael Heseltine, having been urged to stand down by cabinet colleagues. She appealed to them yesterday to unite in electing one of their number to replace her, underlining her determination to stop Mr Heseltine.

Of the three bandwagons, the one that appeared to be gathering speed fastest last night was that of Mr Major. His team were swiftly into action and his supporters were quickly joined by Norman Tebbit, who said: "I am convinced that both left and right should unite under the leadership of the Chancellor, John Major. I shall therefore be campaigning for him."

How the cabinet assassins struck

By ROBIN OAKLEY AND PHILIP WEBSTER

IN THE end her own ministers achieved what Labour never did in nearly 12 years. Margaret Thatcher won because her cabinet convinced her that she did not have the confidence of the parliamentary party and would lose to Michael Heseltine if they were the only two candidates in a second-round leadership election.

It was that development which yesterday had rightwingers such as Edward Leigh, a junior trade and industry minister, complaining: "It's rank treachery: our own people have done it."

The advice Mrs Thatcher received from party managers at lunch-time on Wednesday was inconclusive. Yesterday, other ministers were blaming Kenneth Baker, the party chairman, for prolonging the prime minister's agony by telling her that she was receiving strong support from Conservatives in the country when the message from the chief whip was far bleaker. Norman Tebbit too, a fighter like her, was ready to battle on with her.

After the first raft of advice from party managers on Wednesday Mrs Thatcher felt nobody had offered her a better alternative than to fight on. It was her conversations with cabinet colleagues during the rest of the day that clinched her decision to go.

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tribute to the premiership of Margaret Thatcher. It has by any standards been remarkable.

"Perhaps the very fact that I at one moment found it impossible to continue in cabinet makes it particularly fitting for me to record the admiration and gratitude of the Conservative party for what she has achieved, and what so many of us worked so hard to help her bring about."

In the Commons and outside, MPs paid tribute to her as "the greatest peacetime prime minister this century". Even Neil Kinnock told her during question time that she amounted to more than those who had turned upon her.

The prime minister then put up a storming performance in the ceaseless debate against her government. She was crisp, fiercely combative and humorous by turns, winning universal cheers from the Tory ranks who could hardly believe that her reign had ended so messily.

Mrs Thatcher's departure, after announcing only the previous morning that she was fighting on, stunned Conservative MPs. There were angry recriminations from her hard-core supporters who felt that she had been betrayed by senior figures in the party. But it had become evident

throughout Wednesday that Mrs Thatcher's vote was crumbling and that she was facing defeat.

Her decision to go has thrown the contest wide open. Mr Heseltine was continuing to win over support yesterday, including that of the party deputy chairman, David Trippier. But some of those who voted for Mr Heseltine in the first round did so only to ensure a second round in which they hoped Mr Hurd or Mr Major would be running. Eventually they got their way, and Mr Heseltine now faces a battle to increase his first-round vote of 152 to the 187 required.

Some MPs would have preferred to see Mr Hurd and Mr Major sort out between them a single "cabinet unity" candidate to face Mr Heseltine. But instead they issued a joint statement saying: "We have worked closely together in the recent past and will do so in the future. We have decided to let both our names go forward in friendly contest so that our party colleagues who take the decision can choose which of us is placed to 'unite the party'."

Mr Hurd, who will launch his campaign today, said last night that he could "heal the wounds before they go poisonous". He thought he had a good chance; otherwise he would not have put his hat in the ring.

He denied that he and Mr Major were working to stop Mr Heseltine. "We decided it was sensible to let Conservative MPs decide which of us were better able to unite the party. My task is to restore unity. Divisions of the kind we have had are disastrous."

Mr Major refused to criticise either of his opponents, saying: "I am in the business of the Conservative party winning the next election." He regretted that the election was taking place, declaring: "Mrs Thatcher has been a remarkable prime minister, a courageous advocate for change and a great world leader."

"I have been proud to support her. I believe history will judge her a great prime minister. I want to see the Conservative party remain in government and build on her achievements. I will devote my energy to that purpose."

Both new entrants in the leadership race indicated that they would address the problems of the poll tax. Mr Heseltine has already made the charge a key issue of his campaign.

MPs were saying yesterday that all three could expect to serve in each other's cabinets, thus offering a better prospect of party unity. But Mr Major's backers were chary of suggesting that Mr Heseltine figures in his plans.

Mrs Thatcher's bravura Commons performance had Conser-



Defiant farewell: Mrs Thatcher leaving Downing Street for Buckingham Palace yesterday

vative MPs, including some who had voted against her last Tuesday, standing and waving their order papers. In the lobbies afterwards several were tearful as they regretted her departure. Opponents were warm in their tributes.

The chamber was charged with emotion as Mrs Thatcher laid into the Labour party with abandon, attacking Mr Kinnock's rhetoric. She spoke of her government's achievements "rescuing Britain from the perilous state to which socialism has brought it".

Labour would return Britain to conflict, confrontation and government by consent of the TUC. As she warned to her theme, she declared to laughter from all sides: "I'm enjoying this."

She repeated her opposition to a European central bank and a single currency which was "about the politics of Europe. It's about a federal Europe by the back door." Labour was not prepared to defend the rights of the British government. "For them it's all compromise, sweep it under the carpet, leave it for another day, in

the hope that the British people won't notice what's happening to them and how the powers will be gradually slipping away."

As she ended her speech, Mrs Thatcher turned to the Gulf and said the time was fast approaching when the world community would have to take more decisive action to compel President Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait.

She recalled the Falklands conflict when she had dispatched forces to defend a small country against ruthless aggression. "To those who have never had to take such decisions, may I say to them they are taken with a heavy heart, in the knowledge of the manifold dangers, but with tremendous pride in the professionalism and courage of our armed forces. But there is something else one feels as well. That is a sense of this country's destiny, the centuries of history and experience which ensure that when principles have to be defended, when good has to be upheld, when evil has to be overcome, then Britain will take up arms."

She really was. The afternoon had started with a catch in her throat, as she responded to Dame Elaine Kellie-Bowman (C, Lancaster) - one of the few whose admiration and comfort has sounded sincere. Now, all sorrow was cast aside, as she threw herself into the crushing aggression she loves best. Whatever will she do next?

"Why did they sack you?" shouted Labour's Dave Nellist. I looked across at the Tory benches. Not a few of them were wondering the same thing.

INSIDE

Britain's Gulf force doubled

Britain is sending substantial reinforcements to the Gulf, creating a full armoured division with a total of 25,000 men, about 170 tanks and 80 artillery pieces. The number of British personnel from all three armed services committed to the Gulf in Operation Granby will double, from the present 16,000 to more than 30,000.

The extra armour includes 43 more Challenger tanks, to add to the 130 already in Saudi Arabia, 90 Warrior armoured infantry fighting vehicles and 12 of the army's latest multiple launch rocket systems, each of which has the equivalent firepower of eight ordinary howitzers. Page 24

Maze may be closed

The Maze prison near Belfast, where 400 convicted IRA and loyalist paramilitary prisoners are held, could be closed by the end of the decade. The jail was built in the early 1970s to accommodate 1,200 prisoners but it is now considered to be too expensive to run and no longer suited to more limited requirements. Page 11

Allergy hope

British scientists are claiming a breakthrough in efforts to combat drug, food, sting and pollen allergies. Researchers at Birmingham university's department of immunology have created a novel protein fragment which, it is claimed, blocks the trigger that causes the release of histamines, the chemicals linked with the allergic response. Page 12

Lincoln plea

Police have consulted the Crown Prosecution Service over the Lincoln Cathedral Magna Carta dispute. The Bishop of Lincoln, the Right Rev Robert Hardy, has asked the cathedral's residentiary canons to "consider their positions". Page 12

Sub-disaster

Four men were feared drowned after their fishing boat was believed to have been dragged to the seabed by a Royal Navy nuclear submarine in the Firth of Clyde. Page 24

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POLITICAL SKETCH by Matthew Parris

A little after midnight, but scornful at the last

As Dr Owen now quotes *Julius Caesar*, perhaps this column can offer *Coriolanus*: "Bring in the crows to peck the eagles."

Yesterday, in one of her finest parliamentary performances ever, the eagle swept in and scattered the crows.

"For her," said the SNP's Jim Sillars, "it is five minutes after midnight." Such was Mrs Thatcher's command that, had it been five minutes before, the mess of pin-striped tumbleweed blowing in the wind behind her might have blown her way after all.

The "no confidence" debate started with a floundering performance from Neil Kinnock which, if one leadership election were not quite enough to be

getting on with for the time being, could well have provoked another. It was dismal.

"The effect on our armaments will come into absolute place," he gulped and blathered. "... growth initiative of the alternative." I must have misheard that, but it is what I wrote; as did the reporter next to me. She and I looked at each other quizzically.

"... damage they have done; damage they are doing; and ..."

"Generally, we note-takers find ourselves struggling to keep up with the speaker. With the Labour leader our record runs ahead of the speech. "... damage they will do," I wrote.

"Damage they will do," he said.

Mr Kinnock had started on a confident note. What tripped him was a series of logical missiles lobbed not from the government benches, but from other opposition parties. On defence, the Scottish nationalists challenged him to defend his personal position; on a single European currency, the Liberals' Jim Wallace asked him to define Labour's policy. Soon different elements of the opposition benches were bellowing and gesticulating at each other while the Tories watched bemused. A nightmare glimpse of a Labour government with a knife-edge majority.

Then... "Windy rhetoric!" Mrs Thatcher was shouting almost before she was on her feet. It was the sort of standing start that would be envied by those youths in souped-up and supercharged

Cortinas with wide wheels; away from the lights with a roar of the engine, a squeal of rear tyres and front end lifted off the ground.

This woman has been very, very angry for about six weeks and this was anger made flesh: a 40-minute rant of magnificent fluency. She threw remaining caution to the winds, and has never been more impressive. She waived her arms wildly, punching out the argument. It had Douglas Hurd smiling in a sort of rueful wonder, his head gently shaking. Ted Heath just closed his eyes.

"Absolute nonsense!" she yelled, about Neil Kinnock's speech. "It was appalling!" She was getting into her stride. Would she care to be the governor of a pan-European central bank, asked the Liberals'

Alan Beith, jokingly? "What a good idea!" she beamed, expansively, "I hadn't thought of it."

"Now, where were we?" She looked over to Mr Speaker. "I'm enjoying this!"

She really was. The afternoon had started with a catch in her throat, as she responded to Dame Elaine Kellie-Bowman (C, Lancaster) - one of the few whose admiration and comfort has sounded sincere. Now, all sorrow was cast aside, as she threw herself into the crushing aggression she loves best. Whatever will she do next?

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Timetable of a two-day political drama

By PHILIP WEBSTER
AND ROBIN OAKLEY

THE countdown to Mrs Thatcher's decision to resign and the dramatic events that followed it began when Craxley Onslow, the chairman of the 1922 committee, announced the indecisive result of the first ballot on Tuesday evening: Thatcher 204, Heseltine 152, abstentions 16.

Her departure had become a real prospect even before Mrs Thatcher defiantly told reporters at 3.09pm on Wednesday: "I fight on. I fight to win."

Launchtime Wednesday: Mrs Thatcher was visited by a stream of close advisers, including Norman Tebbit, John Wakeham, Tim Renton, the chief whip, John MacGregor, Mr Onslow, Kenneth Baker, Peter Morrison, her parliamentary private secretary, and John Moore, one of her campaign team. They chatted together over sandwiches in the cabinet room. The advice they gave her was inconclusive. Much of it was bad news. Mr Renton told her that victory on the second ballot could not be guaranteed. Mr Onslow carried a slightly ambiguous message from the 1922 executive, which suggested support for Mrs Thatcher but also the view of many in the party that there should be a wider choice of candidates. Early indications from a canvass by Mr MacGregor, leader of the Commons, suggested the cabinet was split 12-7 against her standing.

But contrary, tough advice to stay in the fight came from Mr Tebbit and Mr Baker, the party chairman, who told her of the strong support in the party at large for her.

There was doubt in Mrs Thatcher's mind as she spoke to the press on her way to the Commons for the statements on the Party summit. But she needed to buy time. She decided that she needed to consult her cabinet individually and to see for herself the state of opinion among backbenchers.

4.45pm: Mrs Thatcher began the final series of meetings with her colleagues. Douglas Hurd, Michael Howard, Peter Lilley, William Waldegrave, Kenneth Clarke, Chris Patten, Tony Newton and John Gummer all traipsed in to her Commons room. She was told that she might not be able to beat Mr Heseltine but others in the cabinet could.

At 5.30 she broke off for her audience with the Queen and then returned to continue the consultations.

7.30: Mrs Thatcher's team visited her. They included John Wakeham, the new campaign manager, Mr Baker, Cecil Parkinson, the transport secretary, and Mr Morrison. At that stage Mrs Thatcher's doubts were clear to all but they tried to bolster her. News filtered out to key backbenchers that Mrs Thatcher was being visited by cabinet ministers.

Loyalists decided her morale must be boosted.

8.00: George Gardiner, chairman of the Thatcherite 92 group, sped to her room from a meeting of 50 MPs. The unanimous view was that she should stay on. "I am



After the news had broken: leaving 10 Downing Street yesterday morning (from left) Kenneth Baker, Chris Patten, Kenneth Clarke and Cecil Parkinson

coming under an awful lot of pressure," she told one of them. 8.45: She returned to Downing Street to work on her speech for yesterday's no confidence debate. She settled down in the cabinet room with her speechwriters. She was joined by Mr Gummer, the agriculture minister, and Mr Tebbit.

Mr Wakeham had remained in her room at the Commons. MPs continued to visit offering advice. One said: "The backbenchers stepped in where the men in grey suits had failed." Visitors included Timothy Raison, a former Home Office minister, who spoke for some of his colleagues in the One Nation group when he advised that she should stand down.

9.30: Prominent right-wing ministers Michael Portillo, Michael Forsyth and Michael Fallon arrived to try to stiffen Mrs Thatcher's resolve. Mr Tebbit paid another visit. The ministerial trio returned later.

Thursday 12.30am: Mr Wakeham visited Mrs Thatcher. She told him she was likely to resign.

1am: Mrs Thatcher completed her speech for the debate. She discussed her plight with husband Denis. Her mind almost made up, she decided to sleep on the decision.

6-6.30: She rose early, talked to her husband, and decided to resign.

7.30: She informed Mr Morrison and Andrew Turnbull, her prin-

cipal private secretary, that she was to stand down. Other senior staff, including Bernard Ingham, her press secretary, were told a few minutes later. The news was telephoned to Buckingham Palace. Mrs Thatcher spoke to her daughter Carol and son Mark on the telephone.

8.00: Mr Wakeham returned to receive confirmation of the decision.

8.30: The prime minister, trying to carry on as usual, briefed herself with her officials for her question-time session.

9.00: A sad Mrs Thatcher, close to tears, opened the cabinet meeting by telling her colleagues that she would be issuing a statement. She read it: "Having consulted widely among colleagues I have concluded that the unity of the party and the prospects of victory in a general election would be better served if I stood down to enable cabinet colleagues to enter the ballot for the leadership. I should like to thank all those in cabinet and outside who have given me such dedicated support."

Some close colleagues were told in advance. The others had gone to Downing Street half-expecting to hear what they did.

Lord Mackay of Clashfern, the Lord Chancellor, who had been informed, paid a warm tribute, voicing the whole cabinet's profound sadness. After outlining her achievements he said: "Your place in our country's history is already

assured. It has been for us your colleagues a true privilege to have served under you. We thank you most warmly for your leadership and we extend to both you and your husband, who has supported you so marvellously, all our best wishes for the future."

She said she intended to resign as soon as a new leader had been elected. She said she felt the unity of the party and prospects for victory at the general election would be better served if she stood down. The whole purpose of withdrawing, she said, was to ensure that the things that the cabinet stood for could go on. None of its serving members suffered from the disadvantage she had of disaffected and disappointed MPs who would not support her.

Even at her lowest moment Mrs Thatcher's antipathy towards Mr Heseltine came through. She hoped, she said, that cabinet members would work to ensure that one of their number was elected to succeed her. Other tributes followed from Mr Baker and Mr Hurd. The cabinet went on to other business, deciding to strengthen Britain's contribution in the Gulf.

At 9.40 John Major, travelling from his Huntingdon constituency where he had been recuperating from a wisdom tooth operation, heard on the car radio of the prime minister's decision to go.

9.41: Neil Kinnock, Labour leader, said: "Good. Very good indeed.

I cannot pretend otherwise." 10.15: Cabinet broke up. Ministers emerged looking dazed. "It was as if they did not know what they were doing," a Downing Street insider said.

They sat together over a cup of coffee and talked about life after Thatcher. She returned to her speechwriting.

10.16: Michael Heseltine paid tribute to Mrs Thatcher's "quite remarkable premiership".

10.30: Mr Baker said: "She is an outstanding leader. We will not see her like again."

10.50: Mr Hurd threw his hat into the ring.

11.00: Denis Thatcher, dressed in morning tailcoat and black tie left for Lady Home of the Hirsell's memorial service. He said the prime minister was feeling "fine".

11.10 Mr Major declared: Noon: Mr Onslow announced: "This is formally to confirm that I have received three valid nominations for election to the position of leader of the Conservative party."

A joint statement from Mr Hurd and Mr Major said: "We have worked closely together in the recent past and will do so in the future. We have decided to let both our names go forward in friendly contest so that our party colleagues who take the decision can choose which of us is better placed to unite the party."

12.15 pm: Norman Tebbit made clear he would not stand. He said:

"It is essential for the party to unite as soon as possible. I have decided I should throw my support behind the man we feel most likely to achieve that task."

12.45: Mrs Thatcher, wearing an electric blue double-breasted suit, saw the Queen at Buckingham Palace and told her of her intention to resign when a new leader was elected.

12.58: Mr Hurd said he was the man to achieve the "over-riding" aim of uniting the Tory party.

1.30: Mr Major said: "I believe I would like the opportunity of trying to unite the party. A lot of colleagues have suggested to me that I may be able to do so and so I have decided to let my name go forward in the ballot for leadership of the Conservative party."

2.24: Mrs Thatcher left Downing Street for the Commons. 3.10: She took her seat on the government front bench for question-time. Conservative MPs including Mr Heseltine stood and cheered her.

3.15: Mrs Thatcher rose for question time.

4.52: She began her speech in the no confidence debate.

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Tickell pays tribute on environment

Margaret Thatcher's contribution to establishing concern for the environment at national and international level was paid a generous tribute last night by Sir Crispin Tickell, the former British ambassador to the United Nations (Michael McCarthy writes). She had placed concern for global climate change, he said, on the highest political agenda.

His comments were echoed by James Lovelock, Britain's foremost environmentalist, who said Mrs Thatcher had helped change people's perception of environmental problems from "parish pump" affairs to global concerns.

Betting favourite

Michael Heseltine will win Tuesday's election but Douglas Hurd and John Major are closing according to betting figures. Coral has Mr Heseltine in front at 6-5 against Mr Hurd at 6-4 and Mr Major at 5-2. Ladbrokes had Mr Heseltine at 11-10 against Mr Hurd at 13-8 and Mr Major at 5-2. William Hill had Mr Heseltine and Mr Hurd as joint favourites at 11-8, and Mr Major at 9-4.

Removal booked

Margaret Thatcher has booked the removal men to move her from Downing Street. Yesterday morning, Michael Gerson Ltd, which has handled the family's business for 15 years, received a call. Staff will turn up at Downing Street "sometime before next Tuesday" to take the personal items there to Dulwich or to storage.

Bank role

George Younger, the former defence secretary, has been appointed chairman of the Royal Bank of Scotland a day after he was replaced as manager of Margaret Thatcher's election campaign. He will succeed Sir Michael Herries. Mr Younger resigned as Mrs Thatcher's campaign manager after the first ballot, citing his commitments at the bank.

Daughter's anger

Carol Thatcher, the prime minister's daughter, yesterday accused those who pressed her mother into resigning of "treachery". On BBC Television news, she said: "I think it is the most gutless act of treachery after all she has done."

Heseltine plants a timely acorn

By LIN JENKINS

LONDON zoo was hardly the auspicious venue Michael Heseltine would have preferred to proclaim his victory in the struggle against Margaret Thatcher. The timing, though, was hers and he adroitly managed to turn the mundane launch of an acorn-planting project into an analogy for the future of the Conservative party: oak trees reflected the permanence of the party, he declared.

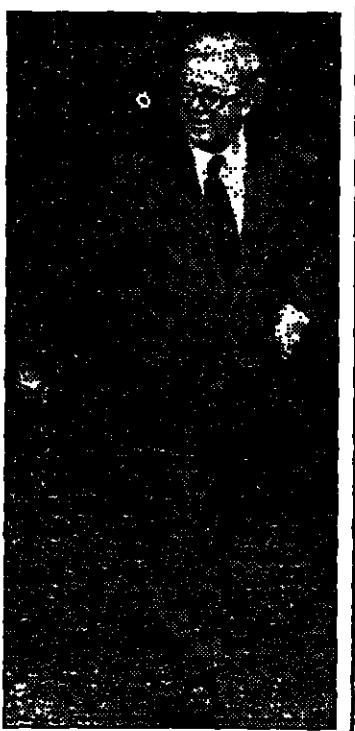
As the media throng threatened to press him down the muddy bank into the Regent's canal, Mr Heseltine, who had learnt of the prime minister's decision en route to the zoo, was magnanimous.

"May I say at once this brings to an end a quite remarkable premiership, she has made a quite remarkable contribution to Britain's history and has led this country with great distinction in the 1980s. The resignation now opens the way for an election for the vacancy of leader of the Conservative party which will enable others to come forward," he said. It was a move he welcomed.

"We will then find a way of uniting the Conservative party and going on to win the next election." Refusing to speculate on the contest, he insisted he got on with the task of "planting oak trees for tomorrow", adding with a broad grin, "nothing could be more indicative of my attitude to the permanence of the Conservative party than that."

Anxious not to offer obvious Tazran imagery to the press, Mr Heseltine cancelled a planned visit with the acorn-planting children to see an elephant. However, as the impromptu press conference collapsed into a scrum, attempts to plant acorns were abandoned for fear the child helpers would be crushed. He refused to repeat his statement to a trampled BBC crew.

Mr Heseltine's next appointment called for more restrained media treatment — at the Westminster Abbey memorial service for Lady Home of the Hirsell. It should have marked his first



Sir Geoffrey leaving Lady Home's memorial service

meeting with Mrs Thatcher since the announcement but she had cancelled and was represented by her husband Denis.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, Lord Whitelaw, Lord Hailsham, Kenneth Baker, Edward Heath, Frances Pym, Jim Prior, George Younger and Paul Channon were among those present.

Mr Thatcher's car was the first to draw up at the Great West door as it would have done for her wife. He studiously avoided her leadership contest.

In the congregation was another man who had shaken the Tory party of his day. But while John Profumo could walk past the photographers and television cameramen scarcely recognised, Mr Heseltine had to use a side door enabling him to bolt undetected to his car.

Memorial service, page 18

Breaking new ground with the Anglo-Irish agreement

By EDWARD GORMAN, IRISH AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

IN HER 11 years at 10 Downing Street, Margaret Thatcher rarely gave Northern Ireland her undivided attention but, during one of the two phases when she did so, she produced perhaps the most important departure in Anglo-Irish relations since partition.

The Anglo-Irish agreement which she signed with Garret FitzGerald, the then taoiseach, in November 1985 will be her single most important political legacy in Northern Ireland. It was a measure borne out of the close working relationship she developed with Dr FitzGerald and was largely a response on her part to the unending problem of IRA violence that, just over a year earlier, had nearly killed her and half her cabinet at Brighton.

The agreement, which gave the republic for the first time a consultative role in the government of the province and brought the Roman Catholic minority firmly into the centre of the political spectrum, horrified unionists, provoking a backlash that seemed genuinely to have surprised her. While Unionists took to the streets in Ulster denouncing the treachery of Mrs Thatcher and the government, she faced the unmitigated scorn of Enoch Powell at Westminster and lost the services of Ian Gow, one of her closest allies, who resigned from the government in protest.

It was certainly paradoxical that Mrs Thatcher, possibly the most "Orange" of recent prime ministers to address the intractable problems of Northern Ireland, should have been the one who was seen by Unionists to have betrayed their cause and to have handed to nationalists what they saw as Dublin's foot in the door to a united Ireland. In her early days in opposition Mrs Thatcher, who remains an instinctive Unionist at heart, sought to reassure that community that Northern Ireland was safe in her hands. During a visit to the province in 1978, she remarked that, while it was fashionable to talk of a federal Ireland, that was not a fashion her party intended to follow.

From the outset, she faced at first hand the threat of violence, and lost many close friends over the years. Throughout, she has

remained obdurate in her refusal to give in to terrorism. During the 1981 hunger strikes, when ten republican prisoners starved themselves to death at the Maze in their campaign for political status, Mrs Thatcher refused to give in. After Bobby Sands died in May of that year, she told the Commons: "Mr Sands was a convicted criminal. He chose to take his own life. It was a choice which his organisation did not allow to many of its victims."

She demoted James Prior to the Northern Ireland office in September of the same year, and is then thought to have actively undermined his plans for "rolling devolution".

Having apparently conceded ground to Dublin after a first summit with Charles Haughey, the Irish prime minister, in December 1980, after which the two governments committed themselves to "special consid-

eration of the totality of relationships between these islands", Mrs Thatcher, to the delight of Unionists, seemed to step back again in 1984, denouncing the three options for progress in the New Ireland Forum report with her famous "out, out, out" remarks. However, Dr FitzGerald's patient diplomacy, plus strong pressure from the Foreign Office and within the cabinet office, gradually made the Anglo-Irish Agreement a possibility by November of the following year.

While Mrs Thatcher was always a fierce critic of the IRA, she also frequently attacked the republic. She accused Dublin of failing in its duties to extradite IRA suspects and claimed that what she saw as its lax security policies made it a "safe haven for terrorists". An initially warm relationship with Mr Haughey never recovered after he chose not to support Britain during the Falklands war.

Red roses for No 10 as power seeps away

By JAMIE DETTMER AND WILLIAM CASE

"ELEVEN red roses from Lancashire", announced one of Margaret Thatcher's loyal MPs to reporters as he brandished the flowers on the doorstep of 10 Downing Street soon after the prime minister's decision to give way in the Conservative leadership contest.

The gallantry displayed by Peter Thurnham, Conservative MP for Bolton North-East, was a lone gesture. Other flowers came, but were delivered by messengers or laid out like wreaths by the gates to Downing Street.

After Mrs Thatcher's decision, there was the distinct impression in Downing Street of power seeping away. The political game had moved on.

Cabinet ministers, who had gathered for an early meeting, were in a hurry to escape once Mrs Thatcher had communicated her surrender to them. New cabinets and plots to end the prolonged civil war in the Conservative party were no doubt already forming.

Only John Wakeham, who just a few hours before had been appointed to head Mrs Thatcher's campaign for the second round, and Kenneth Baker, Conservative party chairman, lingered to pay tribute to the prime minister.

"A very sad day," said Mr Wakeham. "She has done a tremendous job for the country."

"She was an outstanding leader," said Mr Baker. "We will not see her like again."

A large crowd began assembling in Whitehall from mid-morning. Not all of the people had come to praise the prime minister. Standing by the Cenotaph, Anne Arbuthnot, aged 48, said: "It feels like going to the funeral of someone who has done you injustice for years. I've come along to check she is really dead."

Members of the Socialist Workers' Party held up banners bearing the legend "Gotta go" and chanted. The message on one bouquet for the Iron Lady.

Feelings mixed as shockwave spreads nationally

By STAFF REPORTERS

THE resignation of the prime minister sent a shockwave as far as her birthplace of Grantham, Lincolnshire, last night. As a grey fog enveloped the town, shopkeepers expressed sadness at the manner of Mrs Thatcher's political demise and saluted her achievement of 11 years in power.

There did not seem to be any great sorrow that she was going, however, and the poll tax was blamed for her fall from office. Mary Spafford, aged 71, said: "She is not well liked in this town. I pay £28 a month poll tax. Everybody thinks Mrs Thatcher was responsible."

□ FINCHLEY: Party workers at Mrs Thatcher's constituency offices in Finchley sat numbly contemplating the aftermath of the political tidal wave that had engulfed their MP. The more resilient went through the motions of working normally. Every phone call from the Tory faithful deepened the communal gloom and crushing disappointment.

Tessa Phillips, constituency secretary for ten years, said: "I'm not just disappointed. I am devastated." On the streets, that feeling was not echoed. "It is about time we had a change," George Herbert, aged 79, said. "Let that Heseltine have a go now."

□ HUNTINGDON: The office fax machine ran out of paper as they tried to keep up with the speed of political events in John Major's Huntingdon constituency yesterday. "He is a very warm, very human man and will make a very good leader," Olive Baddeley, constituency chairman, said.

In the high street, many people seemed stunned at the disappearance of Thatcherism and the possibility that their MP could be the next prime minister. "Mrs Thatcher is the only prime minister I've known," one woman said.

□ SCOTLAND: The most northerly residents in the British Isles, the three lighthouse men of Muckle Flugga, were keeping watch over nearby fishing boats when they were told of Mrs Thatcher's resignation. "Thank God," was their immediate reaction. In the Borders, Arthur Bell, chairman of the Scottish Tory Reform Group, said: "The corks are popping," and added that a new leader should help party support in Scotland.

The shock waves were felt more keenly at the Tories' central office in Edinburgh, where many wept. One aide, in between fielding phone calls from party members and the press, said: "The people here were stunned. We have had callers jamming the switchboard all morning. Some were in tears."

□ WITNEY: As mist drifted around West Oxfordshire yesterday, Douglas Hurd's constituents felt that they were beginning to see more clearly through the confusion of the Tory leadership election. The news that their MP had decided to stand for election almost outweighed the disappointment of Mrs Thatcher's resignation in the Conservative stronghold.

Shoppers talked excitedly about Mrs Thatcher's announcement and, at the West Oxfordshire Conservative Club, the words "sad" and "proud" rebounded across the lounge bar. "We are very sad but we are proud to have an MP with the quality of brain and experience and international reputation to make an excellent prime minister," Rowland Cheeseman, a long-standing Conservative association member, said.

At the town's job centre, however, Paul Hitchen, aged 19, who was studying the vacancies board, said: "It really doesn't matter that Hurd is well liked abroad if he's not able to do anything in this country."

□ SOUTH YORKSHIRE: At Couthwood colliery in Brampton, South Yorkshire, there was no sympathy for the prime minister's political demise or the manner of her going among the men gathered in the bar of the miners' social club. "Resigned, has she?" said one. "Not before bloody time. That woman has a lot to answer for around here, things that she'll never, ever be forgiven. She made us and our families suffer and I hope she's suffering now."

It was the threat to close the 100-year-old colliery that ignited the long-running miners' strike, which saw some of the worst scenes of violence and disorder the country had witnessed. The industry may have contracted a change but the real hatred — and that is the only word for it — felt for Mrs Thatcher was still intense yesterday.

Alf Smith, a miner at the colliery for 28 years, said he was delighted that the prime minister had been forced to go. "It's the best bloody news I've heard. The woman was a dictator, and she tried to crush us. What she did to the miners and our families was disgraceful and there are people here still paying the price of that year. Jack Kime, aged 56, who has not worked since finishing at the pit, added: "She was out to get the miners and she made no attempt to disguise it. She's got her comeuppance now and everybody is delighted."

Two whippets in tactical race after hare

By ROBIN OAKLEY
POLITICAL EDITOR

THE Tory leadership race took on a new shape at Westminster yesterday with two whippets setting off after a single hare. MPs believed that Michael Heseltine had to win on the second round if he was to win at all.

The two Thatcher cabinet candidates, Douglas Hurd and John Major, knew Mr Heseltine had a momentum it would be hard for them to achieve. The question was how many of the 152 votes he collected in the first round were genuine votes for him and how many were anti-Thatcher votes cast in the hope of stimulating a second round without her, which Mr Hurd and Mr Major would be free to enter.

Mr Heseltine's supporters conceded that his best hope now lay in boosting his vote from 152 to 187 in the second round. If it goes to a third round in which second preference votes affect the outcome, then the switches from Hurd backers to Major and Major backers to Hurd would be likely to do for him. Hurd supporters conceded yesterday, however,

that even after Mrs Thatcher's resignation, Mr Heseltine was continuing to pick up new support.

Indeed, he scored a coup by winning the declaration from David Tripples, the well-liked deputy chairman of the party, that "he is the man who can best unite the party and win the next general election". Significantly Mr Tripples, MP for Rossendale and Darwen, the sort of constituency where the poll tax is a real problem, called Mr Heseltine a man "who has the best interests of the North at heart".

Mrs Thatcher urged her cabinet yesterday morning to pull together and ensure that one of them was elected leader in her place to carry on the work they had done together. She stopped short of urging them to unite behind a single candidate.

However, MPs were openly expressing their longing yesterday that Mr Hurd and Mr Major should have gone into a room with a bottle of whisky and emerged with a single nomination between them as the cabinet unity candidate. The two ministers,

who have become the key axis in the cabinet, did issue a joint statement that it was a friendly contest between two people who had worked closely together in the past and who would work closely together in the future. Their supporters promised that there would be no "bad mouthing" of each other as they fought their campaigns. Keen rivalry there will be, however.

Mr Major's supporters lost no time in pointing out that their man was 47, whereas Mr Hurd was 60 and the two opposition party leaders were in their late 40s. He was the candidate for this and the next generation. Mr Major, they pointed out, had the economic experience so central to political fortunes these days while Mr Hurd was something of a "Whitehall candidate". While Mr Hurd was a splendid chap of great experience, he had not really shown the thirst for the job that was surely required in a party leader.

Yes, he would be wonderful at the Rome conference. But how would he play in Harlepool on a wet Thursday night come the next

election? The Hurd camp was slower into its electrifying stride, taking the view that yesterday was Mrs Thatcher's day. Such gentlemanly reticence could prove expensive when time is so short. But there was the suggestion that Mr Major, nice chap though he was, was just a little, shall we say, raw. Those few weeks he had at the Foreign Office had shown him just a touch two-dimensional as a politician. Plenty of time, surely, for him to learn the rest of the job as No 2 in a Douglas Hurd government.

Politics will out, even in friendly rivalry between friends. As for the Tory MP electorate: they are waiting to see the colour of the new entrants' money on poll tax reform. They would like to know from all three precisely what difference their election will make to the British stance at the Rome European Council and inter-governmental conferences next month.

As MPs began to assess the relative merits of the three candidate fields there was for many the comforting thought that they had a contest now that was

far more likely to unify the party, a contest between people who could all expect to serve happily in each other's cabinets after it was done. While Mr Hurd's backers swiftly made clear that there would be room in his team for Mr Heseltine, the message from the Major camp was not quite so clear, however.

Mr Major, whether he truly welcomes it or not, is seen as the recipient of the hard-right vote in the party. It is in the expectation that he will offer satisfaction to that sector that Norman Tebbit decided not to enter the second round himself. And he will therefore have to be careful on the Heseltine question.

Mr Heseltine has paid tribute to John Major's work as chancellor, expressed his belief that he is no blinkered ideologue and hinted that he would keep his present job in a Heseltine administration. He has said of Douglas Hurd that there is virtually nothing between their views on most issues. With the gaps between the candidates now much smaller it will be a less edgy contest and one from which the party will recover more

swiftly. But with the ideological distances narrowed "winnability" is likely to come to the fore.

The key question will remain that posed by Mr Heseltine when he launched his challenge to Mrs Thatcher: who is most likely to lead the party to victory at the next election? And the opinion poll evidence so far is that Mr Hurd is the man most likely to swing round the polls.

When the contest first began the conventional wisdom was that Mr Heseltine could be beaten comfortably by a cabinet unity candidate. There will not be such a candidate until the third round, however. It still seems likely that it will go to a third round. But some were enquiring at Westminster last night if the late entry forced on the other two had given Mr Heseltine the chance of victory before that point is reached.

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Saturday Review

Are they singing for their subsidy?

Pavarotti costs £10,000 a night. A cleaner costs £1.27 a week. John Higgins opens the books at the Royal Opera House to find out where the money goes and how some might be saved

A writer wrapped in his own book

Alan Franks talks to Jonathan Raban about the account of an American odyssey that put Raban at the heart of his plot

Plus...

Bernardo Bertolucci, battered survivor, the Mutant Hero comes to fashion, hidden National Trust treasures

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Three compete for the soul of their party

Now for round two: Nicholas Wood assesses the personalities and platforms of the contenders in order of declaration

MICHAEL Heseltine starts the second phase of the leadership contest streets ahead of his rivals in policy terms. While they have been constrained by their years of service as ministers, the former defence secretary has exploited the freedom of the backbenches to set out a creed for the 1990s.

He is enthusiastic about Europe, he would make fundamental changes to the poll tax and he would seek a partnership with industry to strengthen the manufacturing base, particularly in depressed regions and the twilight zones of the inner cities. Yet Mrs Thatcher's withdrawal from the contest poses him some awkward questions in policy terms.

His strongly pro-European line could be counted as a plus in many quarters. Now, it looks considerably less distinctive when he is confronted with Mr Hurd and Mr Major.

His solution will be to refocus his manifesto on parts that his rivals will find harder to match. As his campaign team indicated yesterday, the big push from Mr Heseltine is likely to come on industrial policy. He wants to strengthen the DTI so that it can intervene more effectively in the poorer parts of the country and work with business to regenerate the industrial base.

Mr Heseltine's strategy is calculated to enhance his appeal among a key section of his 372 electors. Many of his potential supporters represent marginal seats in the Midlands, the North, Scotland and Wales, and are likely to be impressed by promises to restore lost wealth.

Mr Heseltine's other ace card is the poll tax. Unlike Mr Hurd and Mr Major, he does not suffer from guilt by association. It will be surprising if he does not amplify his promises to subject the poll tax to drastic surgery.

Hurd offers a safe pair of hands

ALMOST alone in the cabinet, Douglas Hurd has had a good year. His mastery handling of the Gulf confrontation, in which he has appeared both tough and reasonable at the same time, has enabled him to peak at exactly the right time to contend for the greatest prize in British politics.

Mr Hurd has also performed skilfully over Europe. He has not

allowed himself to be sucked into the quagmire of being seen to take sides with either of the Tory factions. Instead, he has devoted his efforts to shoring up the cabinet's fragile compromise over monetary union, something that the prime minister and Sir Geoffrey Howe, in their different ways, were unable to do.

Mr Hurd's prominence at international level has rather obscured his competent but uninspiring spells at the Home Office and the Northern Ireland Office. Right-wingers remain suspicious of his days as Edward Heath's political secretary in the early 1970s, but his long service to Mrs Thatcher has blunted the sharpness of such objections to his candidacy. His problem in policy terms is not so much to live down his past as to sketch a vision for the future.

Yesterday, his campaign managers were selling him on the basis of his growing stature as a world figure, suggesting that he alone of the three contenders could take Margaret Thatcher's place at the top table. The apparently impending war in the Gulf gave added weight to their appeal.

An assured pair of hands abroad where the dangers are greatest and continuity at home: that is Mr Hurd's manifesto. As Sir Robert McCrindle, Conservative MP for Breatwood and Ongar, predicted, however, Mr Hurd would be under pressure at the weekend to give more details of the economic and domestic policies.

Major's men concentrate on qualities

JOHN Major had little to say yesterday about the personal manifesto he will put before his party and the country today. Instead he allowed his hastily assembled team of campaign managers to do the talking for him.

They preferred to concentrate on his personal qualities — classless, young (47), approachable, meritocratic, compassionate yet not in any sense a softie. His cordial relations with his two rivals for power were also emphasised, but the clear suggestion was that only the chancellor had the winning formula of populism and judgement needed to rescue the Tories.

Most Tory backbenchers regard Mr Major as the most Thatcherite of the three contenders, although



It is something of a mystery why he should have acquired this reputation, beyond the fact of Mrs Thatcher's evident admiration.

While two stints at the Treasury have established his credentials as an economic "dry", committed to curbing inflation and controlling spending, he has never been associated with the crusade to shrink the state.

In an interview last year, he presented himself as a pragmatist, working by instinct, but rejecting soft options. While he was a "free-marketeer", he wore neither the labels of the left or the right.

In fact, his apprenticeship as a junior social security minister was marked by a spectacular about-turn over benefit payments to the "old and cold". His outlook on social issues places him squarely on the liberal wing.

On Europe, Mr Major is more of a sceptic than Mr Hurd or Mr Heseltine while not sharing Mrs Thatcher's hostility towards the Brussels bureaucrats and their loftier designs. He is the chief architect of the "hard en" plan for a common currency.

Voting rules

NOMINATIONS for the second ballot in the Conservative leadership contest closed at noon yesterday, with papers for three contenders having been given to Cranley Onslow, chairman of the backbench 1922 committee.

Tuesday, November 27: MPs will vote in the second ballot in a Commons committee room between 11am and 6pm. A contestant needs to win the support of at least 187 of the 372 MPs entitled to vote. The result will be declared at about 6.30pm. If no outright winner emerges, the three will go into a third ballot.

Thursday, November 29: Each voter lists their first and second choices under a single transferable system of proportional voting. The candidate polling the lowest number of first-preference votes is struck out and his second preference votes are redistributed. The winning candidate is then confirmed as party leader at a meeting of Conservative MPs and peers, adopted parliamentary candidates, and members of the executive committee of the National Union.

All eyes on the likely lads: Tory leadership contenders facing the media in London yesterday with John Major (top) leaving the Treasury, Douglas Hurd (below, left) at the Foreign Office, and Michael Heseltine planting an acorn at London zoo

Decoder's guide to political double-talk

By PHILIP HOWARD, LITERARY EDITOR

THE language of politics is a coded and euphemistic register at the best of times. Crisis accentuates its natural characteristics. Nothing means what it purports to mean any more. This is language deployed as smoke signal and slogan.

As in wartime, decoding of the ciphers and weasel words by experts becomes imperative for understanding. There is no Ultra to decipher the codes of Politico-Speak. You need cynicism and a knowledge of political history and mob psychology.

"It is my intention to allow my name to go forward" means "I have got my running-shoes on, and if anyone gets in my way, I will kick his false teeth in." "We shall fight, and we shall win" means "It looks as though we are going to lose, and we may have to surrender." "I have made my position clear. I think Mrs Thatcher will lead the Conservative party in the next election"

means "I have almost decided to run, and I think I have a chance of winning." "The time has come for others to consider their own response to the tragic conflict of loyalties with which I have myself wrestled for perhaps too long" means "Geronimo! Cowabunga! Come on you wimps. She is not immortal."

The language of resignation statements by prime ministers lacks the colour of those of lesser ministers, and the full curriculum vitae banalities of the recent institution of exchange of insincere letters. (It is interesting that the Lord Chancellor felt the need yesterday to give a resumé of the prime minister's career in his statement receiving her resignation, presumably for cabinet members with short memories.)

As with epitaphs, the merits are lapidary (or at any rate fix-machine) brevity, and Tacitean acerbity beneath the veneer. I should like to thank all those in

cabinet and outside who have given me such dedicated support" has bitterly unspoken resonances directed at those who have not. "May I express on behalf of the whole cabinet what we will all be feeling, namely our profound sadness at this moment" is also probably partly true, but certainly partly phrop (a phrase that means the opposite to, or at any rate a great deal more than, what it purports to mean).

Le dernier acte est sanglant, quelque belle que soit la comédie en tout le reste, the last act is bloody, however beautiful the rest of the comedy may have been. Blaise Pascal was talking about death, rather than the resignation of the mighty. But the principle is the same. The language should be curt, sad, formal, and hypocritical. On a previous occasion, when Harold Laski suggested that a prime minister stand down for the good of his party, the prime minister caught the style for these

occasions perfectly in his reply: "Dear Laski, Thank you for your letter, contents of which have been noted. C.R. Attlee."

It did not help the prime minister, who makes such a thing of speaking his mind, that the very lais of political Cadarene sumpted forced her into speaking with double tongue. Double tongue is just what is needed to perform in this rare and excitable jargon. "I would not rule out a referendum" is not her normal way of putting things, and sounded as if she were wooing and frightening wavering voters — as she was. Even after the first vote, when she could be seen through the glass doors of the British embassy in Paris, storming towards the waiting cameras (I thought I could hear the theme tune from *Jaws*), and bounced her cabinet by declaring: "I confirm that I shall let my name go forward," expert decoders of PoliticoSpeak could sense that it was all over.

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INTERCITY



Early days: beating Edward Heath to become party leader in 1975, and then prime minister in 1979

Thatcherism: a style or a philosophy?

By ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

THERE was no Churchillism, no Heathism, no Callaghanism. Margaret Thatcher is the only prime minister to have had her own "ism". But what really is Thatcherism? Has it been a consistent ideology or merely household budgeting on a national scale? Does it amount to a philosophy or is it just one woman's political style?

Certainly, she has made her party more ideological. Lord Hailsham of St Marylebone once said: "Conservatives do not believe that political struggle is the most important thing in life... the simplest among them prefer fox hunting, the wisest, religion." With an almost Maoist fervour, however, Mrs Thatcher has taken her party on a long march of reform through institutions of British society: the unions, the civil service, education, the health service and the law.

The Tory party has not previously claimed a monopoly of the truth. Mrs Thatcher, however, has openly sought what she calls the eradication of socialism.

Warrior rather than healer, she has set in train what she sees as a libertarian movement to extend personal choice and create an enterprise society in which the state leaves people free to spend more of their own money and managers are free to manage without being prey to the constant demands of trades union leaders.

Thatcherism has been based on simple slogans such as "sound money". As Nigel Lawson, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, the inflation rate is judge and jury for her governments.

Thatcherism has looked to the creation of strong defences and a strong economy, not just for their intrinsic merits, but to restore national self-confidence and Britain's reputation in the world. The simple slogans have lived throughout it all: The Enterprise Economy, Stand On Your Own Two Feet, Making Britain Great Again and, of course, those famous Victorian Values.

Thatcherism has been about free markets and a belief in individual responsibility. Mrs Thatcher and her ministers have sought to educate Britain out of what they see as the dependency culture, to end the common belief that the solving of problems was always up to "them" — the council, the government, the authorities. Mrs Thatcher has encouraged the belief that there is a limit to government responsibilities. Her ability to win elections against a background of high unemployment argues that she succeeded to some extent in that.

She and her ministers have proclaimed the values of popular capitalism, which, for a Conservative administration, has the welcome advantage that it increases the number of people with

something to conserve. The 2.5 million extra home-owners, many former council house tenants, and the 6 million additional shareholders who have appeared with the privatisation of state industries bear witness to that.

It has not all been consistent, though. She promised "less government", but the Thatcher governments have legislated copiously. There was to be less centralisation, but the role of local authorities has been steadily more circumscribed. A truly consistent believer in market forces and "level playing fields" for the economy would have wiped out the mortgage tax relief. Mrs Thatcher has instead tried to encourage her chancellor to raise it. Her ideology, although some would argue that it was taken too far for her own followers on such issues as the privatisation of public utilities, was not allowed to interfere with Tory instincts as strong as that.

Will Thatcherism last? New prime ministers will have new styles. Thatcherism will leave a lasting legacy in British politics in that Mrs Thatcher's reign has forced the Labour party to change direction and swing back to the centre. The social market, the fostering of enterprise and the creation of wealth, as well as the allocation of spending priorities have now become part of the language of every party.



Curtain call: addressing the party faithful at the Conservative conference in Bournemouth in October, a month before the Heseltine challenge

'An outstanding leader: we will not see her like again' — Kenneth Baker

Mrs Thatcher's reforming zeal dominated Britain in the 1980s. How will history judge her political achievements while in power?

MARGARET Thatcher has dominated British life for 11 years to become the longest serving prime minister this century. She has seen off two Labour leaders and the rise and fall of the Social Democrat party, tamed the trades union barons, spawned a philosophy bearing her name and "hand-bagged" many British institutions with her reformer's zeal.

The unions, civil service, broadcasting, education, health service and legal establishments have all been touched by her mission for radical change and her desire for greater competition. Arriving in Downing Street as an outsider, she has remained a loner, a woman in a world dominated by men, resolutely resisting the lure of a political establishment she still regards with suspicion.

Indeed, one of her big objections to Michael Heseltine's leadership challenge is that she believes he would bring a return of the corporatism and interventionism that she has struggled to erase from British politics.

Her tenure has put on the lawyers' shelves more than 40 volumes of new acts. Along the way, she has sacked or forced out of office a long line of ministers. Some of the dispossessed nursed long-standing grievances, many sought solace through other parliamentary diversions, while others retained their loyalty to the prime minister.

Only a handful of the original 1979 Thatcher cabinet have gone to the Lords, with most left on the backbenches, storing up the potential for trouble-making. Loyalty to the Conservative party has limited their rebellions, but the secret ballot for the leadership handed them an unprecedented chance for revenge.

Those former cabinet ministers who have remained loyal to Mrs Thatcher — Norman Tebbit, George Younger and Nicholas Ridley — are balanced by those who resigned in protest at her premiership — Michael Heseltine, Nigel Lawson and Sir Geoffrey Howe. The departure of Sir Geoffrey underlined the scale of the bloodshed among her ministers in the numerous reshuffles.

A total of 78 Conservative MPs who have held frontbench jobs remain on the backbenches. Knightships have been generously handed out.

Mrs Thatcher's first years in office were a constant battle

In spite of the scale of Mrs Thatcher's achievement, the government appeared beleaguered, unsure of what to do with its mandate. Events, however, were to galvanise her and the government. In March 1984, Arthur Scargill led the miners out on strike and to defeat 12 months later. In October 1984, the IRA tried to assassinate Mrs Thatcher and her cabinet when they

bombed the Grand Hotel at Brighton.

Trades union reform reduced the power of union bosses, with the government's aim to "give the unions back to their members". In the process, however, many members lost to the TUC-affiliated unions, and demands for repeal of some of the Thatcher changes still figure at TUC and Labour conferences. Council house sales had

caten into Labour's traditional heartland and the sale of state industries was creating millions of shareholders. Mrs Thatcher pledged to create a property owning democracy: the number of people owning their homes has risen from 57 per cent in 1979 to 69 per cent today. Since the 1980 Housing Act allowed tenants to buy council houses, 1.4 million homes have been sold.

The privatisation bills in the first half of the 1980s culminated in the sale of British Telecom in 1984 and, although many of the original shareholders have taken their profit and spent their money in the intervening years, BT is still in the hands of 1,200,000 investors, with about 19 per cent of the privately-held shares owned by individuals. The government still owns 52 per cent of the company, though.

If one includes the items which Lord Stockton in 1985 dubbed the "Canalettos" to follow the silver to the saleroom — the electricity industry and the remainder of the government holding in British Telecom, about two-thirds of what Labour had left in the public sector will have been sold. If the Conservatives win the next election, British Coal and British Rail have already been nominated as later candidates for privatisation.

Mrs Thatcher's nerve and resolution were displayed in 1985, in the months following the signing of the Anglo-Irish agreement, when the government trumped the "orange card" by standing firm against loyalist protests and violence in Northern Ireland. The end of 1985 brought a political confrontation that could have brought about her resignation. The dispute over the fortunes of Westland, the Somerset helicopter company, cost Mrs Thatcher two cabinet ministers and tarnished her image as a straight-dealing politician. From the moment that he walked out of her cabinet over Westland early in 1986, Mr Heseltine began his campaign for the Tory leadership.

Four months later, Britain agreed to provide the United States with a base from which to bomb targets in Libya, and in July inflation reached 2.5 per cent, the lowest level since 1967. Like previous prime ministers, however, she swapped the tedium of domestic politics for the glamour of foreign trips, and embarked on a series of overseas trips in which she was feted and given almost regal welcomes.

Low inflation and a budget in 1987 which reduced income tax to 27p in the pound provided the economic basis from which to launch her attempt for a third term in office. The campaign was lacklustre but the electorate brought the Conservatives back with a majority of 101, and forced Neil Kinnock to launch a comprehensive review of Labour's policies. The government then embarked on the most radical programme of change since Clement Attlee's 1945 Labour administration.

The pace was frenetic. The state school system was altered with the introduction of a national curriculum, and changes were introduced in the health service, broadcasting and legal profession. Electricity and water privatisation and the poll tax were put on the agenda. In 1988, British Steel was floated on the stock exchange.

The tax system will continue to bear the stamp of Mrs Thatcher long after she is gone, even if her most controversial contribution to the taxation scene, the poll tax, does not survive her departure.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the prime minister's first chancellor, set himself targets for cutting income tax to 25p in the pound, a goal reached in 1988. That is the lowest rate since the 1930s and nearly 30 per cent below Labour's peak in the preceding government. After that target was hit, Nigel Lawson set a new one: 20p in the pound, as soon as it was prudent and sensible. Conditions to meet those provisos have not, however, been detected in the economic prospect since the pledge was given.

In May 1989, Mrs Thatcher marked ten years as prime minister with subdued celebrations. The following month, Labour achieved its biggest electoral success since she came to power when it triumphed in the European elections.

The campaign highlighted divisions over Europe within the party — differences that continue to haunt it. The government agreed to enter the exchange-rate mechanism (ERM) of the European monetary system but, in October, Nigel Lawson resigned as chancellor.

In 1990, the community charge was introduced in England and Wales amid violent protests, and caused jitters among Tory MPs because of its impact on the party's electoral fortunes. Britain entered the ERM in October, but the prime minister was isolated at the Rome summit over a common European currency and, shortly after her return, Sir Geoffrey Howe resigned from the government. His resignation was the catalyst for Mr Heseltine's leadership challenge.

The very first enactment of the Thatcher governments was an echo of the end of Empire. The Gilbert Islands, in the Pacific, were given their independence by the Kiriakia Act. Even that Act did not get through the Commons without a division that found Conservative MPs voting against the government.

So the Thatcher years began, as they ended, in dissent.

By Richard Ford, Sheila Gunn and John Winder

Finding a phrase for every occasion

Oratory and the royal we

By QUENTIN COWDRY

ORATORY has never been Margaret Thatcher's strongest trick. Actions speak louder than words, she has always said. She has also a habit of using the royal "we" and has never been the most humorous of politicians.

Her years in Parliament, however, have been full of remarks that will be remembered — some coined by speech writers keen to play up or soften her image. A selection of the more memorable "Thatcherisms":

I wasn't lucky, I deserved it. Aged nine, on receiving a poetry-reading prize

It will be for years — and not in my time — before a woman will lead the party or become prime minister.

August 1974, six months before being elected Conservative party leader

I've no idea why people keep attacking me. 1972, as education secretary ("the milk snatcher")

Please don't use the word 'tough'. People might get the impression that I don't care and I do care very deeply. Resilient, I think. August 1973

I don't want a cabinet of yes men or yes women. It's not healthy and I can't stand sycophants. 1977

There are a few times when I get home at night and everything has got on top of me when I shed a few tears, silently, alone. 1978

Where there is discord may we bring harmony. Where there is error may we bring truth... where there is despair may we bring hope.

May 1979 at Downing Street, quoting St Francis of Assisi, on becoming prime minister

U-turn if you want to — the lady is not for turning.

1982, on the risks of sending a task force to the Falklands

Rejoice, just rejoice!

April 1982, on hearing South Georgia had been retaken

The nuclear deterrent has kept the peace. It has stopped nuclear and conventional war. June 1983

I like Mr Gorbachev. We can do business together.

1984, on meeting President Gorbachev for the first time

I'm a tough boss, yes. I drive



Wedding bells: Margaret Thatcher on her wedding day, 1951

people but it is my job to do that. But it's utterly ridiculous to call me a dictator. 1984

We shall carry on as usual. 1984, hours after surviving the IRA bombing of the Grand Hotel, Brighton

I feel more genuine affection this time. I think I have become a bit of an institution and, you know, the sort of thing people expect to see around the place. 1987, at the start of her third election campaign

Obviously one isn't indestructible — quite. 1988

We have become a grandmother of a grandson called Michael. It is just marvellous. Denis is thrilled too. 1989

I do wish I had brought my chequebook. I do not believe in credit cards. March 1990, at the Ideal Home Exhibition, the day before the budget

I fight on, I fight to win. November 21, 1990, after failing to win outright in the first-round leadership ballot

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A prime minister in tragedy and victory: mourning at the funeral of Airey Neave in 1979; visiting the Falklands in 1983; dancing with President Reagan; shocked by the Brighton bombing in 1984; and celebrating the party's election triumph of 1987

Controlling the purse-strings

Economic miracle that failed to exorcise the evil of inflation

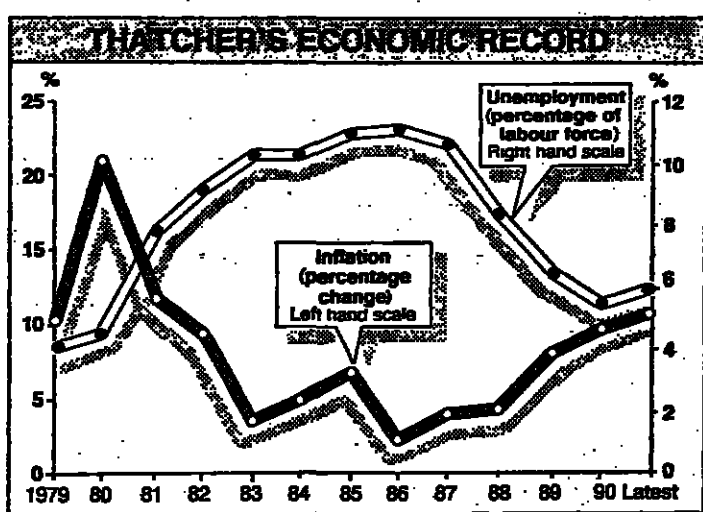
By ANATOLE KALETSKY
ECONOMICS EDITOR

POLITICALLY, the Thatcher era has ended not with the bang of a general election but with the whimpering sound of backbench panic. In the world of economics, Margaret Thatcher's record has suffered a similar fate. Thatcherism has ended not with the widely forecast triumphs or disasters. Instead, the British economy is drifting into a relatively mild recession. Inflation and unemployment are back where they started eleven years ago. And Britain's place in the world is not very different from what it was then: a middle-ranking economy, rubbing shoulders with Italy but lagging well behind Germany and France.

What, then, has happened to the Thatcher miracle? Was it just a cheap parlour trick conjured up by Nigel Lawson, a man now widely denounced as a vainglorious economic showman? Or did Mrs Thatcher really shake the British economy out of a lethargy of generations, establishing a culture of enterprise and competition which will go on creating prosperity for our children in the century ahead?

Appropriately enough for Mrs Thatcher, the truth does not lie in the middle. It is at both extremes. It is true that Mrs Thatcher did more than anyone this century to create a new economic culture that favoured commerce, private initiative and hard work. She overcame the vested interests of trade unions, released industry from the fetters of restrictive practices, created a belief in competition and unleashed an entrepreneurial spirit.

But she was less than successful in her attempts to improve Britain's macroeconomic performance — to eradicate inflation, to achieve steady growth and to stop cyclical tinkering with the levers of economic power. And because of this failure in macroeconomic policy, her breakthroughs in social attitudes led to surprisingly little

OUTPUT AND PRODUCTIVITY
(annual % changes)

	GDP	Manufacturing Productivity	Personal Consumption
1951-73	3.0	3.7	2.9
1973-79	1.4	1.1	1.3
1979-89	2.2	4.2	3.2

measurable improvement in Britain's underlying performance, whether in terms of productivity advances, international competitiveness or non-inflationary growth.

The figures speak for themselves. Inflation has emphatically not been conquered. One may argue about special factors like poll tax and statistical anomalies, but the fact is that today's 10.9 per cent inflation is worse than the 10.3 per cent Mrs Thatcher inherited in May, 1979. Inflation was really the "judge and jury" of her economic record then she would stand condemned.

Paradoxically, Mrs Thatcher's performance in terms of real output and jobs is somewhat better. As the table above shows, Britain's growth record in the 1980s was a marked improvement on the late 1970s. But it still lagged

far behind the performance of the two decades before the 1973 oil shock, the period which remains statistically unchallengeable as the golden era of non-inflationary growth.

Only in terms of manufacturing productivity was the economy's performance truly outstanding in the 1980s. From 1979 to 1989 manufacturing productivity grew by 4.2 per cent a year, substantially faster than in previous economic cycles — and Britain moved from the bottom to the very top of the world league in terms of manufacturing productivity growth, outpacing even Japan.

These were the statistics that inspired claims of an economic miracle in the mid-1980s. But even at the time, the magic was in doubt. The productivity growth was mainly a consequence of lost

jobs, not higher output. Much of the labour shaken out of inefficient manufacturing companies was shifted into lower-wage and lower-productivity service and distribution jobs. As a result, the British economy as a whole did not enjoy any sensational revival. In fact, the growth of productivity in the whole economy, including non-manufacturing, was slower in the 1980s than in the 1960s, though Britain did improve its standing compared with the rest of the world.

The real miracle of the Thatcher era is revealed in the last column of the table. Personal consumption grew at the highest rate ever recorded. In this sense, the Thatcher decade exceeded the "never had it so good" era of the 1960s. More to the point, the rise in consumption, at 3.2 per cent annually, far outstripped the 2.2 per cent rate of earnings growth. As people drew on the ever-rising value of their houses and financial assets, the Thatcherine injunctions against spending what was not earned became an irrelevant joke.

If this was the political miracle of Thatcherism, then it was simply a stunt. First, the spending spree excluded the victims of the 1980s: the millions of people who did not own shares or houses; who could not add to their mortgages or gold card credit limits; who spent much of the decade in dole queues, make-work training schemes or poorly paid service jobs. Second, the miracle could not continue even for the middle classes. The consumption bubble was inflated by Nigel Lawson's decisions first to devalue the pound and then to cut taxes and shadow the German mark. The spree had to end sometime — and it did with a balance of payments crisis, a resurgence of inflation and ultimately the stratospheric interest rates and recession which afflict Britain today.

This leads to the most poignant irony of Mrs Thatcher's undoing.

The three men who did most to destroy her were the three Chancellors in whom she had reposed most trust — Sir Geoffrey Howe, Nigel Lawson and John Major. Sir Geoffrey's role obviously needs no repeating. As for Mr Lawson, his three years of misjudgement from 1986 to 1988 ruined the reputation for sound economic management built up by the government over three parliaments. Mrs Thatcher says that she was aware of the risks of letting Nigel Lawson follow his personal shibboleths — his arbitrary exchange rates and "nominal income" targets. But she gave in to her Chancellor. She thereby lost the best opportunity of a lifetime to entrench the expectation of low inflation permanently in the British mind.

In the end, it was the post-Lawson recession that sealed Mrs Thatcher's fate, not only for obvious electoral reasons, but also because it forced her to seek shelter from the economic storm by entering the European exchange-rate mechanism. It was ERM entry, in turn, that precipitated the present political crisis, since it opened the way to further moves towards monetary union which the prime minister was not prepared to take.

In a sense, therefore, Mrs Thatcher's last Chancellor, John Major, was as responsible for her defeat as Nigel Lawson or Geoffrey Howe. Mr Major was the man who forced Mrs Thatcher into the ERM and thereby unleashed the interlocking strife which destroyed her. For ERM entry made sense only as the first step in an irreversible sequence leading ultimately to full monetary union. Perhaps Mr Major and the Treasury knights did not realise this, but sincere advocates of the ERM and European unity knew it all along. Ironically, so did Mrs Thatcher. But again she gave in to her Chancellor. Finally, she was undone by weakness, not strength.

Relations with the Queen

Coolness that kept first ladies apart

By ALAN HAMILTON

RELATIONS between Margaret Thatcher and the Queen were doomed to a certain frostiness from the earliest days of her Downing Street tenure. The prime minister arrived at Buckingham Palace for a regular Tuesday evening audience in 1979 to discover, to her dismay, that she and the Queen were wearing identical frocks.

On her return to No 10 she had a secretary contact the palace to suggest that, before future audiences, the prime minister should be tipped off on what her sovereign would be wearing. The palace replied loftily that she need not trouble herself, as the Queen never noticed how other women around her were dressed.

However, in truth, their differences were much more fundamental. The Queen is a natural old-style High Tory. Her role is to reign over all her subjects, not only those who get on their knees, and to reign over a United Kingdom, not a divided one in which Scotland has so decisively rejected Thatcherism.

In a leak to *The Sunday Times* in 1986, the palace let it be known that the Queen was disturbed by what she regarded as the lack of compassion in Thatcherite policies, and was fearful of the long-term social damage caused by the 1984 miners' strike. Palace spokesmen denied everything, but it was without doubt a broadly accurate picture.

The Thatcherite conduct of foreign affairs occasionally raised

the royal blood pressure to critical levels. The Queen had deep misgivings about the bombing of Libya by US warplanes from bases in East Anglia. At the end of the Falklands conflict, she found Mrs Thatcher's victory parade through the City of London as distasteful as the prime minister found the Archbishop of Canterbury's "forgive and forget" sermon. No member of the royal family attended the parade.

However, the incident that infuriated the monarch probably more than any other was the US invasion of Grenada, a Caribbean Commonwealth island of which she also happens to be queen. The invasion itself was bad enough, but to learn of it from the television news was altogether too much. The prime minister was instantly summoned, but replied that she was too busy. A second, somewhat stiffer, command, had Mrs Thatcher scurrying down the Mall within ten minutes. It is reported that, at the ensuing brisk audience, she was not even invited to sit down.

A further source of dissent is the Commonwealth, which the Queen as its head regards highly, and Mrs Thatcher does not — notably over South African sanctions.

There is also disagreement over Europe. The Queen would very much like to pay a visit to the European parliament in Strasbourg; she is, after all, the only EC head of state not to have done so. Mrs Thatcher has consistently blocked all such suggestions.

Office of prime minister

Players with endurance

 Sir Robert Walpole April 1721 to February 1742 20 YEARS 9 MONTHS	 William Pitt December 1763 to March 1801, May 1804 to January 1806 19 YEARS 2 MONTHS	 Lord Liverpool June 1812 to February 1827 14 YEARS 8 MONTHS	 Lord Salisbury June 1885 to January 1895, July to August 1895, June 1895 to January 1901, January 1901 to July 1902 13 YEARS 5 MONTHS	 Lord North January 1770 to March 1782 12 YEARS 2 MONTHS
 W.E. Gladstone December 1859 to February 1874, April 1880 to June 1885, February 1886 to July 1886, August 1892 to March 1894 12 YEARS 1 MONTH	 Margaret Thatcher May 1979 to November 1990 11 YEARS 6 MONTHS	 Henry Parnham August 1743 to March 1754 10 YEARS 6 MONTHS	 Viscount Palmerston February 1855 to February 1865, June 1865 to October 1865 9 YEARS 4 MONTHS	 Herbert Asquith April 1905 to May 1910, May 1910 to December 1916 9 YEARS 7 MONTHS

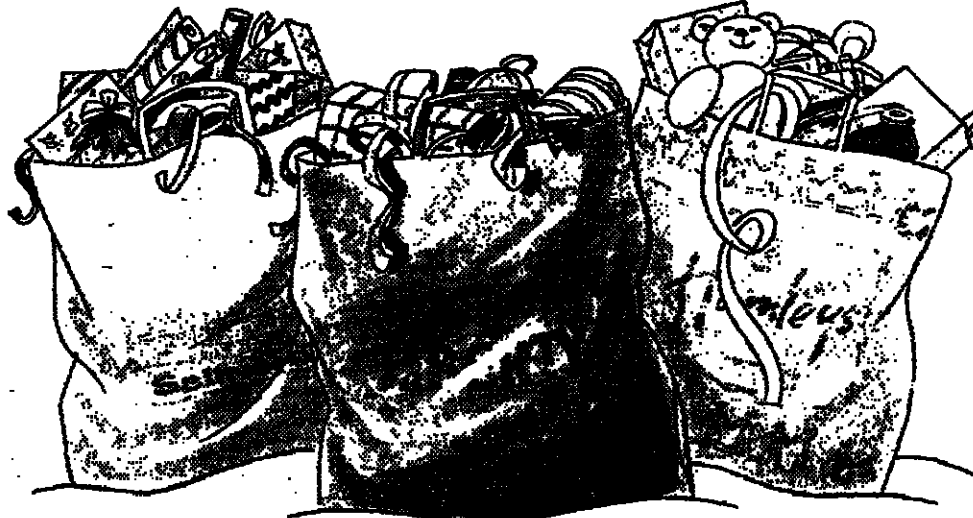
WHEN Margaret Thatcher leaves No 10 Downing Street for the last time before the arrival of the new prime minister, maybe her eyes will linger on the portrait of Lord Liverpool at the foot of the main staircase (Jamie Dettmer writes). Robert Banks (Jenkinson, second Earl of Liverpool, is one of four men who served as prime minister for longer continuous periods than Mrs Thatcher. Sir Robert Walpole, considered to have been the first British prime minister, William Pitt the Younger, who led the nation against Napoleon, and Lord North, blamed for losing the American colonies, also had longer

unbroken stints in power than Finchley's MP. Lord Salisbury and William Gladstone served in office for longer than Mrs Thatcher but their incumbencies were each broken into four ministries. No twentieth-century prime minister has come close to approaching Mrs Thatcher's longevity. Herbert Asquith and Sir Winston Churchill managed just over eight years each.

Historians may well conclude that Mrs Thatcher's record is in some ways more daunting than the records set by her predecessors in times when public affairs moved at a more sedate pace.

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Defiant prime minister stands by her record

THE Opposition had the right and duty of challenging the government of the day, Margaret Thatcher told the Commons yesterday, when she replied to Labour's motion of no confidence.

Opposition also had the right to test the confidence of the House in the government if they thought the circumstances warranted it, she added. "I make no complaint about that."

"But when Mr Kinnock's windy rhetoric has blown away, what are their real reasons for bringing this motion before the House?"

"It cannot be complaints about Britain's standing in the world. That is deservedly high, not least because of our contribution to ending the cold war and to the spread of democracy through Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

"The Opposition's real reason is the leadership election for the Conservative party. A democratic election according to rules which have been public knowledge for many years, one member one vote."

"That is a fair cry from the way the Opposition do these things. Two in every five votes for their leader are cast by the trade union block votes, which has a bigger say than do the members opposite. Precious little democracy there."

Mrs Thatcher said the real issue to be decided was how best to build on the achievements of the Eighties and carry Conservative policies forward through the Nineties.

"Eleven years ago we rescued Britain from the parlous state to which socialism had brought it. I remind this House that under socialism this country had come to such a pass that one of our most able and distinguished ambassadors felt compelled to write in a famous dispatch, a copy of which found its way into *The Economist*, the following: 'We talk of ourselves without shame as being one of the less prosperous countries of Europe. The prognosis for the foreseeable future is discouraging.'"

Conservative government had changed all that. "Once again Britain stands tall in the councils of Europe and of the world, and our policies have brought unparalleled prosperity to our citizens at home."

"Over the last decade, we have given power back to the people on an unprecedented scale."

"We have given back control to people over their own lives and over their livelihood — over the decisions that matter most to them and their families. We have done it by curbing the monopoly power of trade unions to control even vicariously the individual worker."

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Margaret Thatcher launched a fierce defence of her government's record during yesterday's Commons debate on the no-confidence motion.

Britain's standing in the world was now high, she said, and power had been given back to the people

in living off future generations."

She said that it was because individuals and families now had more power and more choice that they had more opportunities to succeed:

"More jobs, two million more, than in 1979; better rewards for hard work; income tax down from 33p to 25p; living standards up by a third; more new businesses, 400,000 since 1979; over 750 every week; and a better future for their children."

Thanks to their hard work, success and enterprise, people were better off than ever before. The average pensioner had twice as much to hand on to his children.

Simon Hughes, Liberal Democrat spokesman on environment said: "There is no doubt that the prime minister has in many ways achieved substantial success, but one statistic is not challengeable."

The gap over 11 years between the richest 10 per cent and poorest has widened substantially."

Mrs Thatcher replied: "All levels of income are better off than they were. He is saying that he would rather the poor were poorer, provided the rich were less rich. That way you will never create wealth for better social services."

She added: "Britain is no longer an overmanned, inefficient, backward manufacturing sector, but [has] modern, dynamic industries."

On inflation, she agreed that in 1987 and 1988 the economy had expanded too quickly.

"There was too much borrowing and inflation rose. That is why we had to take the tough and unpopular measures to bring the growth of money supply within target. Inflation has now peaked and will soon be coming down."

The fundamentals were right: "our industry is now enterprising and it has been modernised and restructured. In sector after sector, it is our companies which lead the world. Our companies have the freedom and talent to succeed, and the will to compete..."

"Our companies have the freedom, the will and the talent to succeed. Succeed they must."

"There must be no hankering after soft options and no going back to the disastrous economic policies of Labour governments. No amount of distance lends enchantment to the lean years of Labour which gave us the lowest growth rate in Europe, the highest strike record and, for the average family, virtually no increase in take-home pay."

The government's stewardship of the public finances had been better than that of any government for nearly 50 years. "It has enabled us to reduce debt and to cut taxes."

The resulting success of the private sector had generated the wealth and revenue that paid for better social services."

She added: "Over the last 11 years this government has had a clear and unwavering vision of the future of Europe and Britain's role in it. It is a vision which stems from our own deep-seated attachment to parliamentary democracy and this government's commitment to economic liberty, to enterprise, to competition and to a free market economy."

"No government in Europe has fought more resolutely against subsidies, state aids to industry and protectionism, against unnecessary regulation and bureaucracy, against increasing unaccountable central power at the expense of national parliaments."

"We have been the driving force towards a single market, which when it is completed will be the most significant advance in the Community since the Treaty of Rome."

Further, she said, all that had been done while never hesitating to stand up for Britain's interests. The people wanted a fair deal in Europe, particularly over our budget contribution. "We have got back nearly £10 billion which would otherwise have been paid over to the EC."

Friday: Debate on a private member's motion.

The main business in the Lords is expected to be: Tuesday: Planning and Compensation bill, second reading.

Wednesday: Debates on EC fraud and on the Commonwealth.

Thursday: Maintenance Enforcement bill, second reading.

Parliament today Commons (9.30): Debate on Gatt.

to take more decisive action to uphold international law and compel President Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait.

She said: "No one can doubt the dangers which lie ahead. Saddam Hussein has many times shown his contempt for human life, not least for the lives of his own people. He has large armed forces. They are equipped with peculiarly evil weapons, both chemical and biological."

"Twice in my time as prime minister we have had to send armed forces across the world to defend a small country against ruthless aggression; first, our own people in the Falklands; and now to the borders of Kuwait."

"To those who have never had to take such decisions, may I say they are taken with a heavy heart, in the knowledge of the manifold dangers but with tremendous pride in the professionalism and courage of our armed forces."

"It is because we on the Conservative side of the House have never flinched from difficult decisions that this House and this country can have confidence in this government today."

There was also a widespread recognition among her colleagues in Paris that the time was fast approaching when the world community would have

Leading article, page 17 Letters, page 17



Kinnock derides decayed, divided government

NEIL Kinnock opened the debate on the motion of no confidence by saying: "I beg to move that this House has no confidence in Her Majesty's government, although I must say in the present circumstances there is not much of a government in which to have no confidence."

For some time the government had been recognised by the people as having comprehensively failed. The pressures had been building up for many months and had culminated in the departure of the prime minister.

"I and my party are delighted to have played our full part in bringing that about."

He spoke of division and decay in the government which, as former ministers had testified, was riddled with distrust. The Tory party was wracked with disagreements that could not be healed.

Citing recent by-elections, local elections and European elections, he said that the people had rejected the Conservatives in every political test and would go on rejecting them.

He said that the government had "tried to take evasive action in the form of shuffles and shifts that have taken place around the cabinet

table", but there was no escape. The party had suddenly discovered that the prime minister's conduct of government was wrong and that such centralisation of power in a democracy was indefensible.

Recalling how an adoring Conservative conference had chanted "10 more years", he said: "They did not mean 10 more weeks. With such duplicity, who can trust such a party? Who can ever trust them again?"

The Tories heartily supported policies that had brought disadvantage and despair to millions of their fellow citizens. There were plenty of causes for rebellion but few rebels.

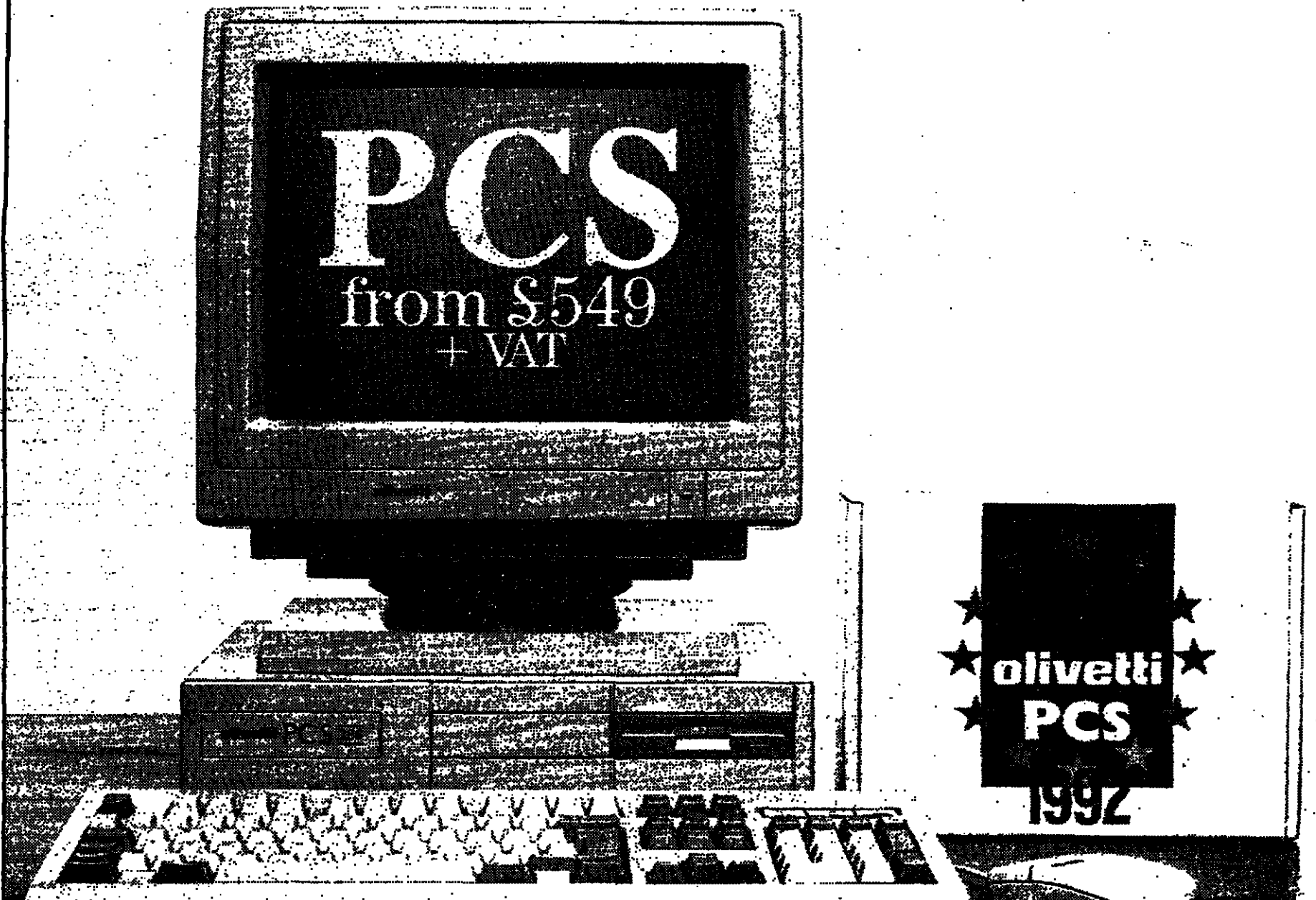
The only time they took action was when their own political careers were in danger of being terminated. All the policies were supported by the whole party — "not just the fall woman who has been chosen for election" — they were all guilty.

He ended: "Who can have confidence in a government that is split from top to bottom? If they have no confidence in each other, how can the country have confidence in them?"

"They are unfit to govern. They should go now."

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Parliament next week

The main business in the House of Commons next week is expected to be:

Monday: Statutory Sick Pay bill, second reading.

Tuesday: School Teachers' Pay and Conditions bill, second reading.

Wednesday: Statutory Sick Pay bill, remaining stages. Development Board for Rural Wales bill, second reading.

Thursday: Development Board for Rural Wales bill, remaining stages.

Parliament today

Commons (9.30): Debate on Gatt.

**YOU NEED TO BE A BRAIN SURGEON
TO KNOW THE BEST ROUTE
FROM MAIDA VALE TO BLOOMSBURY.**



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They're faced with such dilemmas because The National Hospital for Neurology and Neurosurgery is split between two buildings.

Thirty minutes after removing a brain tumour at our Maida Vale hospital, a surgeon may be due in the theatre at our hospital in Bloomsbury.

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Maze prison may close by end of the decade

By EDWARD GORMAN, IRISH AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

THE Maze prison near Belfast, where 400 convicted IRA and loyalist paramilitary prisoners are held, could be closed by the end of the decade, security sources confirmed yesterday.

The jail was built in the early 1970s to increase top-security capacity in Northern Ireland as the troubles developed. The prison is now considered to be too expensive to run and no longer suited to more limited requirements.

Senior officials in the prison service and in the Northern Ireland Office have argued for some time that a smaller jail should be built to replace the Maze, and it is now being accepted that this is likely to happen within the next few years.

Apart from the question of running costs, which amount to about £40 million a year, prison service officials look forward to getting rid of what one called the "emotional

baggage" that the Maze carries.

Among the ugly and dramatic episodes that have taken place there have been hunger strikes, including those in which ten IRA prisoners starved themselves to death in 1981; and the so-called "blinker" and "dirty" protests that preceded them. Twelve Maze prison officers have committed suicide and eight have been killed by the IRA.

Since 1985, however, the prison has been less prominent and relations between republican prisoners, who account for 284 of the 400 paramilitary inmates, have improved.

The Maze was regarded on completion in 1972 as a "state of the art" prison. With eight separate compounds or H blocks, it also included a second separate prison inside the overall site, giving a total capacity for 1,200 inmates.

As the security situation in the province became steadily more contained, the prison population diminished. The separate compound facility was closed in 1988 and now only five of the eight H blocks are occupied, one with only 27 special-category inmates.

Each H block is designed in effect as a prison within a prison, with its own perimeter and separate internal security. Falling convictions, which have reduced Northern Ireland's prison population from about 3,000 in the mid-1970s to less than 1,800 today, have not been matched by falling staff numbers and 1,200 officers still work at the Maze, making it one of the most expensive prisons in the United Kingdom. Each inmate costs the taxpayer £55,000 a year, more than double the national average.

Officials believe it could take ten years to build a smaller replacement for the Maze as part of a general reassessment of prison requirements in Northern Ireland, which also has the top security Maghaberry jail, five miles from the Maze.

The Maze, said, close to Lisburn, is likely to be reclaimed by the Ministry of Defence, which owns the land, and may become a security force base.

Five jailed over IRA bomb find

FIVE men arrested in a police raid on the biggest IRA bomb factory found in the Irish Republic received long jail sentences yesterday.

Det Supt Kevin Carty told the anti-terrorist Special Criminal Court in Dublin that grenades found in the raid were of a type consistently used against the security forces in Northern Ireland.

The gang was arrested after armed police stalked out a remote hayshed near Arklow, Co Wicklow in April. Inside they found a terrorist arsenal that included 28 grenades, parts for another 70 grenades, mortar components, parts for blast bombs, police uniforms and a number of stolen vehicles.

Engene Storm, aged 30, of Belfast, was jailed for ten years, Leslie Keshella, aged 25, of Dublin for nine years and three other Dublin men, Declan O'Neil, Eamon O'Clairigh, both aged 24, and Seamus Ennis, aged 25, were sentenced for eight years each.

Upheaval awaits new leader of JP's association

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT

MAGISTRATES were voting yesterday to choose the woman who will lead them through one of the biggest upheavals of their history.

The 28,600 justices of the peace in England and Wales have been keenly watching the contest for chairmanship of the Magistrates' Association. It comes at a critical time. There are Home Office plans for the system's biggest reorganisation, with the threat that what has always been a community-based service will become answerable to a new, centrally funded national agency.

The two contenders,



Hosking, to the defence of colleagues under attack Rosemary Thomson and Joyce Rose, have very different styles. Mrs Thomson forceful and extrovert, Mrs Rose considered and judicious.

Mrs Thomson, aged 56, is from the Berkshire branch and has been particularly active on the training side of the association. Mrs Rose, aged 51, is from the Watford branch, where she has been chairman of her bench since January this year. Her particular expertise is with the juvenile courts and she was a member of the association's juvenile courts committee from 1975 to 1987.

Whoever emerges as the winner today will not only lead the association for the next three years, but will have a key role in the JPs play in shaping the

framework and delivery of criminal justice in the 1990s.

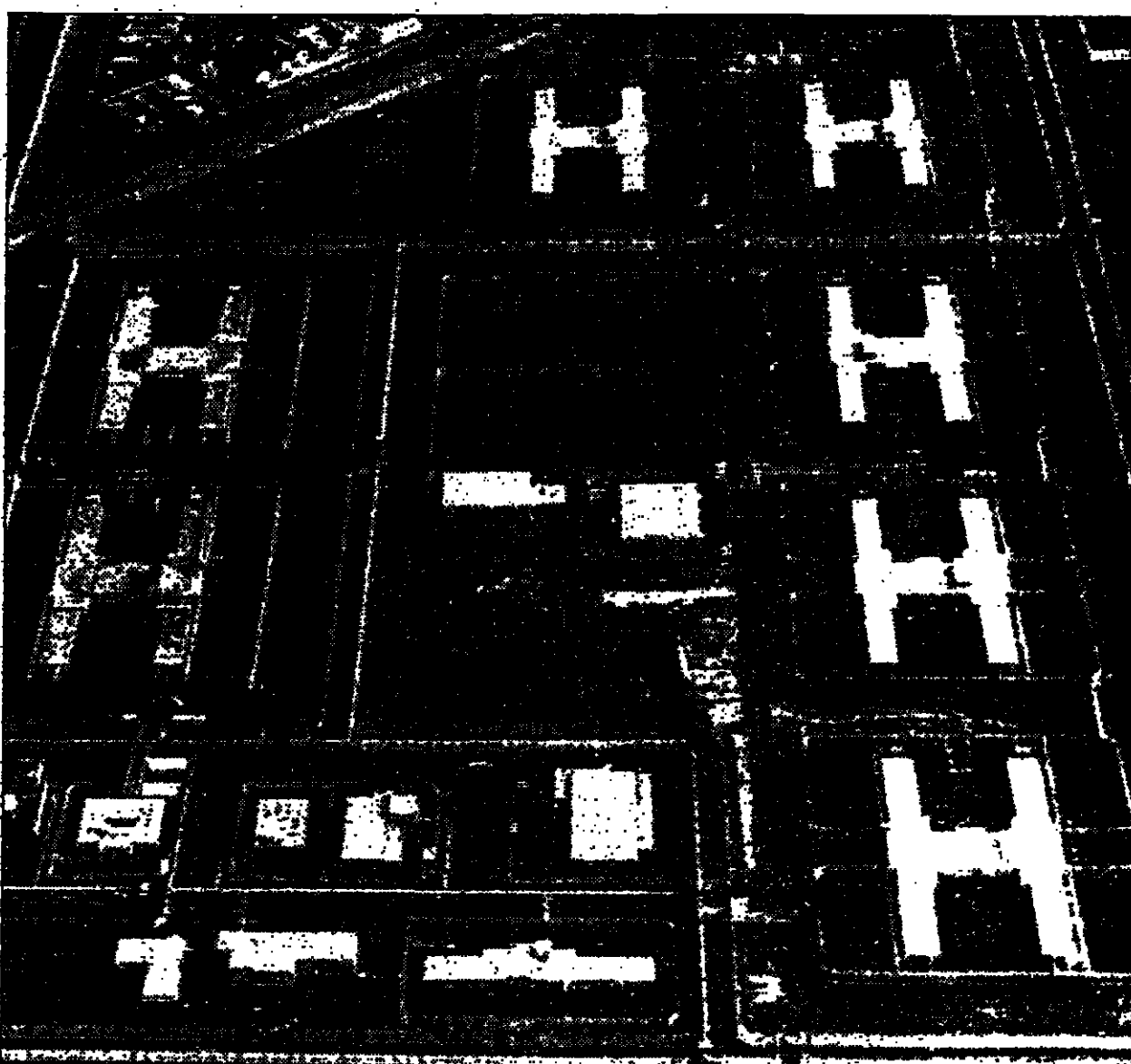
Magistrates, along with judges, are the butt of constant criticism about inconsistencies and leniency. John Hosking, outgoing chairman of the association, devoted much of his recent valediction to defending his colleagues from such attacks. Yesterday, he told JPs that society was freeing the criminals and chaining the courts.

Like judges, magistrates are an easy target. Although constantly in the public eye, they are surrounded in mystique. One official said: "People have a very hazy idea about who magistrates are and what work they do. People still think they are paid and there's very much a 'them and us' attitude."

This concern about the magistracy's public image prompted the Lord Chancellor's department to set up a working party. A survey of magistrates was recently carried out, which showed that although their standing had fallen it had not done so more than other parts of the establishment.

It was agreed, however, that there was room for improvement. The working party mounted a full-scale strategy with the Magistrates' Association, the Justices' Clerks' Society and the magistracy's advisory committees (which appoint JPs) to help to promote and demystify magistrates' work.

Several changes have been implemented already. Among them is a new policy that members of the advisory committees that recruit magistrates will disclose their identities. The Lord Chancellor has also written to many employers to tackle the prejudice some magistrates face at work because of the time off they need to carry out their duties. Officials believe that the measures are already paying off in terms of the recruitment and retention of magistrates.



An aerial view of the Maze prison, near Belfast, clearly showing its H blocks. The jail may close in this decade

Nuclear study urges no-fault health payouts

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE defence ministry was urged by an all-party Commons committee yesterday to consider introducing a "no-fault" compensation scheme for servicemen and civilians who claimed their health had been damaged by working on nuclear submarines and in the atomic weapons programme.

The MPs on the Commons defence committee said the ministry had received 126 claims for illnesses alleged to be radiation-related. All the cases had been assessed on the basis of legal liability. So far no compensation had been paid.

The committee, in a report published yesterday, called on the ministry to make an announcement on a compensation scheme before the end of the year. Under the no-fault procedure, legal liability would be dropped. Instead, compensation would be paid according to a graduated scale, taking into account "the degree of probability that an employee's injuries might have been caused by exposure to radiation".

If the ministry introduced such a scheme, it would bring employees into line with the civilian nuclear industry. The

MPs said the defence trade unions had suggested this two years ago but the ministry had not yet responded.

The ministry should bear in mind, the MPs said, the success of other no-fault compensation schemes "and the anxiety, distress and unnecessary expense which could arise from extended actions in the court to gain compensation".

Examining the defence ministry's safety record, the MPs were satisfied with the protection of nuclear workers. With extra protective measures introduced over the years, the average annual radiation dose of employees at the atomic weapons establishments had fallen from 1.5 millisieverts to 0.23 millisieverts last year.

For workers at Devonport and Rosyth dockyards, maintaining and refitting nuclear submarines, the exposure doses had dropped from 4.91 millisieverts in 1979 to 1.69 last year. However, even lower limits might be required in future, MPs said.

Radical Protection of Service and Civilian Personnel, Commons Defence Committee (Stationery Office, £11.10)



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Bishop tells of distress over charter argument

By RUTH GLEDHILL, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS REPORTER

AS LINCOLN Police disclosed that they had consulted the Crown Prosecution Service over what action to take next in the Lincoln cathedral Magna Carta saga, the Bishop of Lincoln yesterday renewed his call for the four residential canons of Lincoln Cathedral to "seriously consider their positions".

The Right Rev Robert Hardy said that he was "very distressed" by the damage done to the Church of England in the continuing dispute over the trip to Australia to exhibit the cathedral's Magna Carta.

The bishop, giving his first interview on the affair, said: "The whole situation raises serious questions about episcopal authority and what a bishop can actually do in a very serious situation such as exists in Lincoln."

Police in Lincoln, who earlier this month launched an investigation into the financial affairs surrounding the exhibition at the 1988 World Expo in Brisbane, which cost the cathedral £250,000, have sent papers to the Crown Prosecution Service.

Norman Leeds, assistant chief constable of Lincolnshire, said: "Lincoln police are awaiting advice from a senior level within the Crown Prosecution Service."

The cathedral lost £56,075. If certain Australian costs had not been waived, the total losses would have exceeded £660,000. The bishop carried out a visitation to enquire into the affair and the differences that had arisen between the dean and the chapter. The resulting "admonition and award" called on each of the



Hardy: worries about episcopal authority

four canons "very seriously to consider his position". The bishop said in his admonition that the past eight months had been the saddest period of his ministry.

Speaking from Bishop's House, Lincoln, yesterday, the bishop said: "First of all, I must stick by what I said in the award. I have seen no reason to change that." He said that one of his difficulties had been that his award was a "lonely judgement". He felt heartened by the decision of the greater chapter last Saturday to stand by him.

The 40 canons belonging to the greater chapter agreed a motion expressing no confidence in the ability of the dean and the chapter to reconcile their differences and also called on the four cathedral canons to consider their positions. The bishop has been approached by many church members distressed by what has happened, he said.

"I do believe it is having an effect upon the life and good name of the church," the bishop said. "People are finding it very difficult. Most people are appalled by what they have read and heard. That goes also for the community which have appeared in the press, not so much recently, but certainly at the beginning of October."

"A lot of people are very angry and dismayed. The meeting of the greater chapter underlined that. Their support for me was heartwarming. They stood by the admonition and that does change the thing. It no longer becomes just me as a lone voice, but more as someone who is a representative figure. I want to do what is right by the church." The bishop said: "I have had nothing from the four residential canons apart from a brief bit of paper at the beginning of October. I think people are amazed at the way in which there has been a lack of response by the residential canons. I still feel they should reconsider their positions."

The bishop, who this week met 70 cathedral staff, said: "Many of them were dismayed and sad about it. I think that goes right through the whole diocese." He said that he was still seeking a constructive way forward.



Close encounter: Sefton, the Household Cavalry horse that survived the IRA bomb explosion in Hyde Park in 1982, which killed four soldiers, greeting Lance Corporal Mark Hooper of the Blues and Royals, at a horse retirement home near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, yesterday. The British Horse Society is to give a new award, named after Sefton, now 26, for outstanding service in the cause of equestrian safety.

Building union 'under attack'

By TIM JONES, EMPLOYMENT CORRESPONDENT

THE leader of the construction industry union has told his members that it is under concerted attack by political activists seeking to undermine its structure.

The warning from Albert Williams, general secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT), comes as the union faces two vital elections for seats on its five-man executive that could result in control being captured by members of the hard left.

The union has a key presence on many construction sites around Britain, particularly the Channel tunnel and at the Canary Wharf site in east London.

Jack Henry and Brian Veal, two moderate members of the executive, are being challenged by John Flavin and Ron Doel, who enjoy hard left support.

Urging the union's 250,000 members to use their vote wisely, Mr Williams claims that a small group of "faceless, nameless individuals" are

orchestrating a campaign against the sitting executive. He says he has fears of an attempt to overthrow the present executive and force the union into a takeover by a new monolithic union, made up of the left-dominated Transport and General Workers' Union and the Manufacturing, Science and Finance union.

Mr Williams said: "We are not about to enter into any merger talks with any of the five unions which have approached us."

"We intend to preserve the identity and policies of UCATT, working for building workers," he said.

He said the current campaign was being run by activists whose policies were alien to those which have been rejected by the people of Eastern Europe.

"They see the membership of UCATT not as decent construction workers, concerned with the future of their industry and their families, but as mere pawns to be used for wider political purposes."

Protein study brings hope of allergy vaccine

By NICK NUTTALL, TECHNOLOGY CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH scientists are claiming a breakthrough in efforts to combat drug, food, sting and pollen allergies, which can be debilitating and even fatal.

Researchers at Birmingham university's department of immunology have created a novel protein fragment which, it is claimed, blocks the trigger that causes the release of histamines, the key chemicals linked with the allergic response. Animal tests indicate that the blocker, the fruit of more than 30 years' research, could be used as a long-term vaccine giving sufferers protection against nearly all allergies.

At present, allergy sufferers can only be helped if the exact chemical causing the response can be identified by, for example, skin tests. Given the complexities of some allergic reactions, this can prove a time-consuming and often fruitless procedure. In addition, treatments that require patients to be desensitized to an allergy by giving them mounting doses of, for example, pollen or bee-sting chemicals, carry severe health risks which might also prove fatal.

These problems have prompted the Committee on the Safety of Medicines to regulate such treatments in the United Kingdom and discourage drug companies.

Dr Denis Stanworth, who is heading the Birmingham team, based in the university's rheumatology and allergy research unit, claims that tests indicate the novel protein fragment carries none of these risks. It is also non-specific, making it effective against most allergens, the chemicals that cause an allergic reaction.

When a hay fever sufferer is first exposed to an irritant, such as pollen, chemicals leak through the nose or the lung causing a massive production of a protein called immunoglobulin E (IgE).

This protein then attaches itself to a group of key cells, called mast cells, which contain a variety of chemicals including histamine. Normal

people may produce IgE but allergy sufferers experience a sharp rise in the substance.

The reason for this increase remains unclear but it could have a role in defending the body against bacterial and viral attack by opening up the blood vessels to disease-fighting cells. The next time a sufferer encounters pollen, however, part of the IgE instructs the mast cell to release its histamine.

Modelling of the structure of IgE protein, and the way in which it interacts with the mast cells led the team, whose findings are published in *The Lancet*, to identify and synthesise a ten amino-acid peptide that masks the histamine trigger.

Food poisoning was likely to be responsible for 100,000 reported cases of illness and between 200 and 300 deaths this year, Dr Richard Lacey, professor of clinical microbiology at Leeds university, said yesterday (Michael Hornsby writes). The real incidence of food-related infection would be at least a million.

Delivering the William Dick Memorial Lecture at Edinburgh university, Professor Lacey, said that the policy of slaughtering contaminated laying flocks had failed to control the salmonella poisoning epidemic associated with eggs and poultry.

Rigorous tests for high-rise flats urged

By CHARLES KNEVITT, ARCHITECTURE CORRESPONDENT

RESIDENTIAL tower blocks should be subjected to the same kind of annual fire checks and certification as hotels, according to a report that will be submitted to an inquiry on a fire victim. There are thought to be 4,000 such blocks in Britain.

The report is by the National Tower Blocks Network, which represents more than 2,500 tenant and other organisations. It is advised by Sam Webb, the architect whose investigations into the Ronan Point gas explosion led to its demolition two years ago, 20 years after its partial collapse.

The group's report will be submitted to the inquiry on Jennifer Noble, of Smethwick, West Midlands, who died in a tower block fire on July 13. It says fire drills should be carried out at least once a year, smoke alarms should be installed in each flat and in communal areas, internal gas supplies should be removed from all blocks built of large panel construction and log-books should be kept of all alterations and maintenance.

The report says that blocks checked in the London boroughs of Redbridge, Tower Hamlets and Wandsworth, and in Manchester and Sheffield, breached building regulations. They failed to provide adequate means of escape, it was alleged.

Thirty held in football violence enquiries

Thirty men suspected of being the ringleaders or members of football hooligan gangs following Manchester United were last night being questioned by police (Stewart Tendler writes).

They were held in raids in Manchester, London, Surrey and Barnsley, and were being questioned in Manchester about alleged serious criminal offences which could include attempted murder. The incidents are said to have taken place in Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Newcastle upon Tyne and Liverpool and the alleged gangs involved were named as the Cockney Reds, Young Munichs and Yorkshire Reds. The investigation came after clashes at matches.

Strad sale fails

A Stradivarius violin estimated at up to £1 million failed to sell at Sotheby's yesterday. Bids stopped at £520,000. The violin's owner, Jim Reno, an engineering tycoon, had planned to give the proceeds of the auction to the Withington hospital in Manchester. The sale was originally to have been conducted by Christie's for an estimated £600,000 to £700,000.

£1m damages

A Devon teacher paralysed from the neck down in a car crash four years ago was awarded £1 million damages at the High Court in Exeter yesterday. Karen Bowden, aged 28, of Exeter, was a passenger in a car involved in a head-on crash with another car that veered out of control. The other driver died. The award was against Red Star Motor Policy of Lloyds, which admitted liability.

Bomb charges

Pearse Gerard McCauley, of Strabane, Co Tyrone, and Nessim Quimivan, of Limerick, who have been accused of conspiring to murder Sir Charles Tidbury, former chairman of Whitbread brewery, were charged at Thames magistrates' court, east London, yesterday with conspiracy to cause explosions. They were remanded in custody. Three other people faced the same charge.

Chess setback

The English team at the 29th Chess Olympiad at Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, suffered a setback in the fifth round when it lost to the Soviet team by 2½ points to 1½. Three games were drawn but Nigel Short lost to Vassily Ivanchuk after 41 moves of a French defence. The United States now leads the championship with 15½ points out of a possible 20. England has 13.

CORRECTION

In The Saturday Review on October 20 reference was made to a book about the Cafe Royal written by Keith Waterhouse. *Cafe Royal: Ninety Years of Bohemia* was written jointly by Guy Deasy and Keith Waterhouse.

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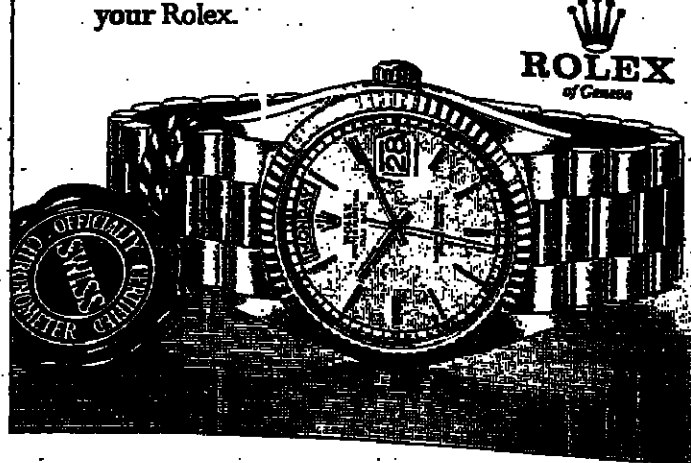
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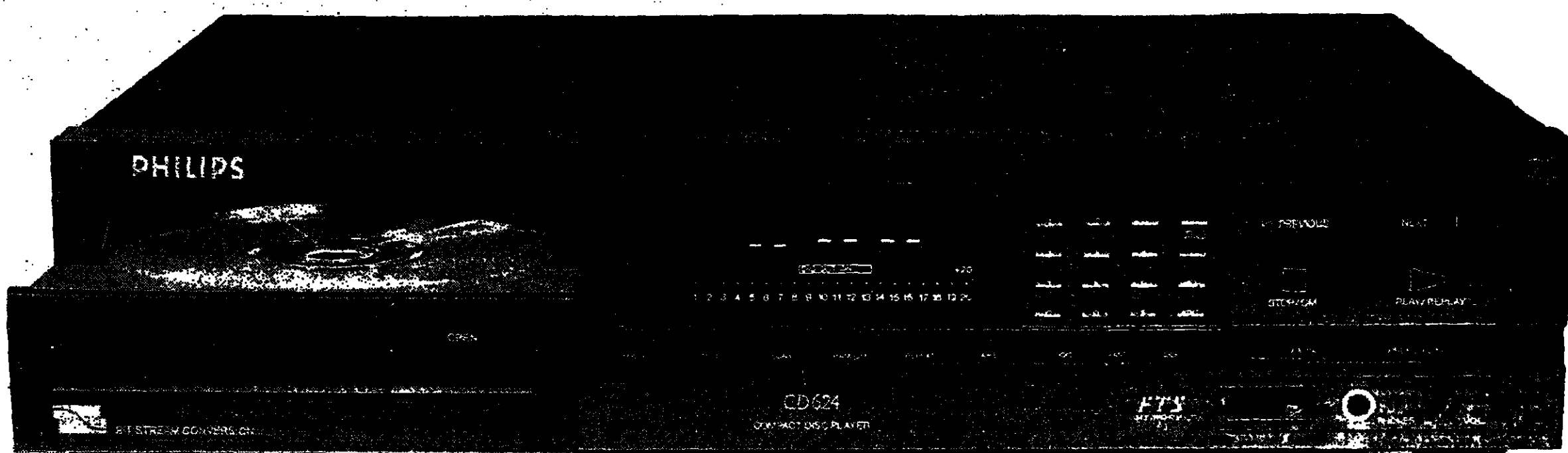
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Bellicose Bush tries to kindle fire in hearts of US forces

FROM CHRISTOPHER WALKER IN DHAHRAN

AGAINST the backdrop of combat-ready American and allied warplanes, President Bush yesterday warned that the timetable for a military option in the Gulf was shortening.

In a belligerent address which cited Iraq's nuclear ambitions as a new reason for urgency in resolving the Gulf confrontation, Mr Bush, a former fighter pilot, emphasised that the appeasement of the nazi era would never be repeated.

Speaking to audiences from the three services in different parts of Saudi Arabia — all within range of Iraqi Scud missiles — and on board a US Navy ship, Mr Bush attempted to still growing impatience among the 230,000 US service personnel. Accompanied by his wife, Barbara, who defied Saudi dress customs in a combat shirt and yellow ear-rings, Mr Bush looked tired after a week in which a United Nations resolution on using force has grown closer, but he remained unflustered.

"So far we have acted with restraint, it is our way. But Saddam is making the mistake of his life if he confuses an abundance of restraint and patience with a lack of resolve," the president said. "And every day that passes brings Saddam Hus-

sein one step closer to realise his goal of a nuclear weapons arsenal. That is another reason why, more and more, our mission is marked by a real sense of urgency."

Despite growing discontent within the US forces about the stalemate, and austere living conditions in Saudi Arabia with its strict Islamic customs, President Bush was unable to give a date by which the forces could expect either to fight or go home.

Although his more bellicose remarks were greeted with cheers from sections of the crowd at a large air base here, there was a stony silence when he said "no American will be left in the Gulf a single day longer than necessary," but gave no further hint of dates.

Mr Bush's speeches during the day were designed to provide his troops with a *raison d'être* for their deployment, which an increasing number are questioning.

"What we are confronting is a classic bully who thinks he can get away with kicking sand in the face of the world," said Mr Bush, dressed in a short-sleeved blue shirt and sweating in the desert sun. He had arrived to join in Thanksgiving celebrations.

"Sometimes it is a question of some pain now to avoid even worse pain later. In world war two, the world paid dearly for appeasing an aggressor who could have been stopped early on. We are not going to make the same mistake and we will not appease this aggressor."

American sources said that the speech — which lacked the fiery oratory which might have aroused the troops — reflected the president's conviction that Iraq is to be viewed in the same light as nazi Germany. "The invasion of Kuwait was without excuse and the invasion of Kuwait simply will not stand," he declared.

Decoy helicopters were used as Mr Bush left Marine One for visits which included a meeting with British troops. At a remote site about 100 miles from Kuwait, he bitterly denounced President Saddam Hussein's offer to release Western hostages over a three-month period from Christmas. Many US soldiers believe this may prevent a war at the most advantageous time for the allies.

"There is no reason to wait for Christmas," Mr Bush declared. "I say to him today, free the hostages, all the hostages, and free them today or you are going to pay the price."

Although the president helped some people's morale, he failed to remove the mood of discontent over the US contingent. "Until the president tells us how long we are going to be here, we have nothing to work towards. That is what is bad for morale," said a sergeant from Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr Bush's arrival in Dhahran coincided with the release of news that a US Army AH-64 Apache helicopter had accidentally fired a missile into a US ammunition dump. There were no reports of injury in the ensuing blaze and an investigation was launched. The Apache has come in for serious criticism in recent days.

As part of his effort to step up pressure on Iraq, Mr Bush told reporters that the US would seek a United Nations resolution on using force against Iraq before the end of the month. "I feel that we should act and take action before November 30," he said. He had previously refused to state if or when Washington would seek such a move.

● **Britons held:** Four Britons, three men and a woman, were detained in Kuwait in the early hours of Wednesday morning and taken to the Regency Palace Hotel, a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday (Michael Knipe writes).

There are believed to be about 600 Britons trapped in Kuwait, about 60 of whom are in detention. Another 800 are trapped in Iraq, of whom about 300 are being used as human shields.

Jean-Marie Le Pen, the French right-wing politician, yesterday arrived in Mulhouse in eastern France with 63 European hostages released by Iraq, among them 17 Britons.



Assad: indirect channels with the Israelis kept open

Israel quick to condemn Bush talks with Assad

FROM RICHARD OWEN IN JERUSALEM

ISRAELI officials were yesterday angry and concerned over President Bush's meeting in Geneva with President Assad of Syria, the first such encounter for 13 years. Israel was also upset by Washington's failure to notify Jerusalem of the Bush-Assad meeting in advance.

Despite the traditionally close relationship between America and Israel, Mr Bush has consistently asked the Israelis to keep a low profile during the Gulf conflict and has not included Jerusalem on his current itinerary.

Mr Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's prime minister, said that, while Mr Bush's meeting with the Syrian president was clearly part of the American effort to preserve the anti-Iraqi coalition, he hoped it would not "encourage Syrian aggression against Israel". Other Israeli officials were alarmed because Mr Bush was "ready to meet someone who tramples on human rights, is a known practitioner of terrorism, and is one of the worst enemies of the United States".

Officials said that, in Israel's view, President Assad was just as brutal and dictatorial as President Saddam Hussein, and the West was making a grave mistake by allying itself with such a leader. Syria is regarded by Israel as its most hostile foe in the region. Israelis still relate stories of Syrian atrocities in past Middle East wars.

On the other hand, Syria and Israel maintain indirect channels of communication. Over recent months President Assad has used intermediaries, including Jimmy Carter, the former American president, to convey signals to Mr Shamir that Syria is willing to consider future negotiations with the Jewish state on "non-belligerence". But Syria insists on the return of the Golan Heights, a condition Israel says it can never meet.

● **PEKING:** Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, is arriving in northwestern China today for talks with Qian Qichen, the Chinese counterpart, on the Gulf conflict (Catherine Sampson writes). China's position has been consistently ambiguous and diplomats believe Mr Shevardnadze will be seeking a commitment from Peking to support the use of force.

A foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday: "Our position is clear cut. As long as there is a gleam of hope for a peaceful settlement, unremitting efforts should be continued towards this."



American pie: President Bush collecting his portion of military T-ration pie at a food line in the Saudi desert where he joined an army group for Thanksgiving lunch yesterday

Angry troops leave turkey untouched

Christopher Walker reports from Dhahran that President Bush's Saudi visit failed to stem the resentful grumbling in US ranks

SERGEANT Charles Izerny from Fort Bliss in Texas was one of the American soldiers who did not eat one of the 230,000 Thanksgiving turkey meals prepared for them yesterday to mark America's main family holiday.

As President Bush arrived at the giant King Abdul Aziz air base to deliver a pep talk to boost the morale of the US contingent, Sergeant Izerny was one of the 2,000 servicemen and women who showed little enthusiasm.

Like many standing around him in the blazing sun, the sergeant refused to applaud when Mr Bush gave his reasons for sending a force to the Gulf but failed to set a date for when it would be used in combat or, failing that, sent home.

"These are not my kinsfolk. I am not going to give thanks for being here and that is why I will not be eating turkey," explained the sergeant, an Arab-language specialist who has been in the Gulf since August 11 and is one of a growing lobby of troops ready to voice discontent. "If I could get nearer the president, I would tell

him one thing," the sergeant, a father of three, said. "If we are going to do something, let us do it now. We are an army that was trained to fight, not trained for boredom or a stinking life like this."

The sergeant, unconcerned that his remarks were being noted, said he and many in his unit thought President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had a right to seize Kuwait, although they did not agree with his cruel treatment of those found there. "In our unit we have two dart boards, one with a picture of Saddam and the other with the picture of Bush," he added bitterly. "We throw darts in both because they are both responsible for us being here."

Other American soldiers who overheard his complaints added their own. "The lack of female companionship is killing us," said

Staff Sergeant Leonard Augustino, a tough-looking resident of Brooklyn. Behind him, 12 stewardesses from the Pan Am jumbo which flew in the White House press corps were proving a rival attraction equaling the president's popularity.

An attempt by the US military's public relations machine to keep malcontents away from the ceremonies arranged for the president had little effect. "What I would ask him," said army Specialist Jimmy Scott, also from New York, "is just when am I going to get out of here and have the chance of resuming my life?"

Although the senior officer who introduced the president and Mrs Barbara Bush linked the 17th-century Thanksgiving festival with America's desire to "seek to regain the freedom of the Kuwaiti people", for many of the Ameri-

cans it was a time for reflection not celebration.

Surrounded by a formidable collection of allied warplanes, President Bush may not have been aware of the discontent brewing in the ranks of ordinary American soldiers stretching back from the more enthusiastic who were able to grasp his hand or secure a souvenir photograph.

"He is a hypocrite. This is a show laid on for the television cameras, not for us," said Sergeant Izerny. The soldier next to him shouted in response to an order from the loudspeakers to the crowd not to hand the president any gifts: "Why doesn't he give us one — an air ticket home."

Away from the air base, similar sentiments came from other members of the US forces. "I am not really interested in his visit to tell the truth," said army Specialist Darlene Brown. "He is the main reason I am here now, and not with my family." Sharon McPhail, another specialist, said: "The visit does not make any difference. I just want to get out of here."

Cambodia peace effort resumes

FROM NEIL KELLY IN BANGKOK

AS THE warring factions prepare for dry-season offensives in Cambodia, the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council will today make another attempt in Paris to find a peaceful settlement. Although the four factions involved agreed in September to support the five-power peace plan, progress towards a settlement, if anything, has gone into reverse.

The factions and their regional neighbours expect little from the Paris meeting. They expect the five powers will put more pressure on the Cambodians to lay aside their differences and allow the peace process to go ahead. Some of the Cambodian leaders expect the five will invite them to Paris for talks next month. A spokesman for the non-communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front said in Bangkok last night: "We pray that the big five will put severe pressure on the four leaders. That's our only hope."

One of Prince Sihanouk's officials supported that view, while a Khmer Rouge representative, echoing the remarks of Khieu Samphan, his leader, said: "We signed our agreement to the UN plan, and we want it implemented." More than 300,000 refugees on the Thai-Cambodian border have had meetings calling on the security council to force the Cambodian leaders to sign a peace agreement.

"Sihanouk and the others cannot bring us peace, only the UN can do that," said Thon Thon, one of the leaders at Site 2, the biggest

refugee camp. But General Sak Sutsakhan, the liberation front's military leader, said his army would continue fighting until UN forces were deployed in Cambodia. A Western aid worker at Site 2 said: "If the leaders listened to the refugees, there would be peace next week." International appeals for the factions to impose a ceasefire on themselves have gone unheeded.

Mr Ali Alatas, the Indonesian foreign minister, who will attend the Paris talks, warned the Cambodians this week that if they did not settle their differences quickly, the world community would soon lose interest in them. Southeast Asia, he said, could not be held hostage to the Cambodian conflict for ever. Regional harmony depended upon a solution to the war.

● **PEKING:** China yesterday claimed that it had stopped supplying arms to Cambodian guerrilla forces (Catherine Sampson writes). "Ever since the adoption of the five documents by United Nations Security Council members, China has never provided any military assistance to the resistance forces in Cambodia," Li Zhaoxing, a foreign ministry spokesman, said.

The claim came after an agreement in September between Qian Qichen, the Chinese foreign minister, and Eduard Shevardnadze, his Soviet counterpart, that both sides would stop aid to all factions if there were a ceasefire and movement towards a political solution.

Walesa may quit presidential race

FROM ROGER BOYES IN WARSAW

LECH Walesa yesterday indicated that he might follow Margaret Thatcher's example and step down, rather than go through with a second-round ballot in Poland's first free presidential elections.

The Solidarity chairman, in his last electioneering appearance before polling day, was clearly trying to coax extra votes from Poles who intended to choose him only in the second round.

He said that he needed to win by a large margin if he were to succeed in transforming the country. "I will try not to participate in a run-off, because such a victory would be too small for what I want to do in Poland."

Opinion polls suggest Mr Walesa will fall short of the 50 per cent required to win the presidency at the first ballot on Sunday.

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Walesa: a ploy to coax more voters to support him

and if nobody secures 50 per cent the two front runners go into a first-past-the-post contest.

Polling analysts believe that he could take as much as 10 per cent of the votes from his nearest rival, Stanislaw Tymiński, the Polish Canadian businessman, but even such a gain, enhanced perhaps by some 5 to 10 per cent of the undecided voters, will leave Mr Walesa short. He currently has 28 per cent support. The most likely scenario is still a second round contest between Mr Walesa and the prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who is expected to make a late comeback.

Mr Walesa was playing Hamlet yesterday. "I need broader support from the people. But even the social support I do have — and democracy itself — places certain obligations on me. So I don't know yet if I will take part in the run-off or not. Today, I don't feel like doing it, that's for sure."

If Mr Walesa really does step down, plagued by the lack of votes, there remains the question of what he would do politically. As he admitted yesterday, he would be a dangerously destabilising force. "If I fail, I won't be able to go into opposition, because I would be much too powerful and in a month or six weeks I would cause both the government and the president to fall. "If I were truly patriotic, I would not use my power, I would step back, go into business or go fishing."

Writs meanwhile, are continuing to fly between other candidates, along with mud-slinging.

Danish poll triggered by failure of tax talks

Copenhagen — Denmark's autumn ritual of protracted negotiations between the minority coalition government and the opposition Social Democrats on the economy ended yesterday in collapse and the calling of a snap general election on December 12 (Christopher Follett writes).

Poul Schluter, aged 61, the Conservative prime minister and leader of four centre-right administrations since 1982, announced the general election, the fourth in a decade, in parliament after the breakdown of five weeks of talks between his government and the Social Democrats, the biggest political party, on the state budget for 1991 and an economic reform package. The talks foundered over disagreement on reducing taxation, a perennial problem. Danes pay between 52 and 68 per cent of their incomes in tax and the system has to be reformed to bring it more into line with other EC member states.

Mr Schluter said that an early election was needed because he wanted tax reforms to take effect from January 1 to create the basis for collective bargaining pay talks in the spring. The present Conservative-Liberal-Radical coalition came to power in May 1988.

Transkei plot

Johannesburg — At least eight people were killed when rebel soldiers, allegedly supported by white mercenaries, attempted to stage a coup in South Africa's Transkei homeland. General Bantu Holomisa, ruler of the nominally independent territory, accused elements in South Africa of responsibility but said the attempt had been foiled.

Gladio enquiry call

Strasbourg — The European parliament has called for an investigation into the activities of secret anti-communist organisations set up in the 1950s to counter a possible Soviet invasion of West Europe. It also asked governments to investigate links between the secret network called Gladio and right-wing terrorism in Europe over the last two decades. (AP)

Murder charge

Santiago — A Chilean lawyer representing the family of British journalist Jonathan Moyle has filed murder charges eight months after Mr Moyle was found hanged in his hotel room here. Police had claimed that he had committed suicide. His parents have insisted he was murdered. Autopsy evidence suggests he was hanged after he was already dead.

20,000 in protest

Sofia — Bulgarian riot police were preparing for trouble yesterday evening as more than 20,000 people surrounded parliament in Sofia and demanded the resignation of the government. Inside, MPs were preparing to debate the budget on which the prime minister, Andrei Lukanov, has staked the future of his two-month-old socialist administration.

Guerrillas strike

San Salvador — Powerful explosions shook the El Salvador capital as left-wing rebels attacked a power plant and government helicopters attacked guerrilla positions near San Ramon. At least 20 explosions were heard as guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front carried out a third night of attacks in a nationwide operation. (Reuters)

Offer of sheep

Canberra — Australian farmers, trying to avoid shooting millions of surplus sheep, are offering them free to the Soviet Union to solve its food shortages. "We are receiving a lot of enquiries from farmers," a Soviet diplomat said. (Reuters)

Ritual leaves Japanese and emperor in the dark

FROM JOE JOSEPH IN TOKYO

Although it is a week since the princes and prime ministers who came to Tokyo for his enthronement left for home, it is only this morning, after completing a private, pre-dawn ritual in which he communed with his ancestral gods, that Akihito can properly call himself emperor of Japan.

The ancient religious ritual, known as the *daijosei*, or great food offering, is mysterious, maybe unconstitutional and at a cost of £10 million to taxpayers, pricey. Even scholars of the Shinto religion are baffled about its full meaning of the ceremony, in which rice, millet and *sake* are offered to the sun goddess, Amaterasu.

But the prewar belief that the

daijosei marks the spiritual transformation of the emperor into a living god has unsettled critics.

There are also complaints that it violates the constitutional divide between church and state. Some fear that Japan's wistful right-wingers, who feel Hirohito was emasculated by the American-imposed postwar constitution, will use the rite to revive emperor worship and to veer Japan back on to a militarist path.

Opposition parties boycotted the ceremonies, some Christian groups have gone on hunger strikes and left-wing radicals have been setting Shinto shrines alight in protest. Yesterday, the Amaori Shrine in Fukuoka, southwestern Japan, was par-

tially destroyed by fire believed to have been started by left-wingers.

The government, struggling to find a way to fund it as a state occasion, announced that the *daijosei* was a traditional court ceremony, an integral part of the imperial succession and beyond the purse of the imperial household, which has no money of its own.

Even so, the prime minister, Toshiki Kaifu, and the 900 or so invited Japanese guests accepted their invitations for the rite knowing that they would see nothing of the proceedings.

Emperor Akihito, dressed in a white silk kimono, was led by the flickering light of torches and

bonfires at 6.30pm local time last night into the ritual, torch-lit chamber and then disappeared from public view.

Scholars have always regarded the rite as one that somehow makes the emperor divine. This has been seized on by anxious critics, who fear that the nationalists and militarists who hijacked the Shinto religion and the imperial system for their own ends before the second world war might see a chance to revive their campaign to have Japan's emperor fitted as a living god.

But there are some problems with this theory. The first is that Akihito has made it clear that he sees himself as a constitutional monarch and that he does not regard himself as divine. The second is that most Japanese are

more interested in watching television than going to war. Japan has just failed to pass a bill that would have allowed it to send soldiers to the Gulf in non-combat roles. Most Japanese are not even very interested in keeping tabs on what the emperor is up to, let alone worshipping him.

The Japanese have a fairly flexible attitude to Shintoism and other religions and the idea of state Shintoism has withered.

The combined number of Buddhists and Shintoists in Japan is 220 million, even though Japan's population is only 123 million. That is because Japanese who claim to believe in Shintoism commonly marry in temples and are cremated like Buddhists.

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They all come to a bad end

Roy Jenkins

The view that all prime ministerships end badly is as near to the truth as any unqualified political rule. And the examples that come nearest to contradicting it — the unforced withdrawals of Stanley Baldwin in 1937 and Harold Wilson in 1976 — led only to disappointed hopes of esteemed retirements. Baldwin, in particular, left 10 Downing Street in an almost golden glow of glory, following his adept handling of the abdication crisis. In the House of Commons his popularity was enhanced by his final act — announcing a 50 per cent increase in MPs' salaries. But within three years he was unfairly reviled by Parliament, press and public.

Some prime ministerships, however, end dramatically as well as badly, and this has certainly been the case with Mrs Thatcher's long rule. The three others of this century who have fallen against their will without electoral defeat were Asquith in 1916, Lloyd George in 1922 and Neville Chamberlain in 1940. In none of these cases was the drama so publicly played out. A still more important difference was that in each of the other three cases, events took place in the context of a coalition, with the outgoing prime minister's political opponents active factors in his downfall. In Mrs Thatcher's case, it has all been done within her own party. Mr Kinnock's views have been as irrelevant as his vote of censure.

Asquith was felled by a principal — although detached — colleague within his own party, and the bitterness that followed from that coup behind closed doors meant that the Liberal party, which had held office for 25 of the preceding 48 years, has never held independent power since. But Lloyd George's crucial allies were, first, Bonar Law, the leader of the Conservative party, and second, the so-called "three Cs", Austen Chamberlain, Curzon and Robert Cecil, who were also Conservative ministers, but who were operating separately from Bonar Law, and in such a fog of confusion that it was far from certain that the result they helped produce was the one they wanted.

Six years later, Lloyd George provided an example of those who come to power by the political sword eventually perishing by it. After two years of war government, he had presided for nearly four peacetime years on the base of a parliamentary majority largely provided by the Conservative party and pursued a restless policy at home and an adventurous one abroad. Baldwin, then almost unknown, led a peasants' revolt of Tory MPs, and was joined by Bonar Law, then out of the government.

But in sharp contrast with the recent position, the best-known Conservative ministers, although of greatly varying temperaments, remained bewitched by the wiz-

ardry of the prime minister. Austen Chamberlain (the party leader), Arthur Balfour (former prime minister but still in the government), Birkenhead (the unforgettable Lord Chancellor) and Robert Horne (the forgotten chancellor of the exchequer) all stuck to him to and beyond the end. None of them served in the Bonar Law or the first Baldwin governments that followed. Curzon hovered, but eventually joined the new government.

The support of this galaxy (less Curzon) was, however, insufficient to carry the Conservative backbenchers. At the Carlton Club meeting of October 19, 1922, the vote was 185 to 88 in favour of coming out of the coalition, and by that afternoon the prime ministership of David Lloyd George, then the most famous statesman in the world, was over. He had no option but to go. He did not need to meet the House of Commons (which he had always done as infrequently as possible) to know that he no longer had a majority there.

In May 1940, Neville Chamberlain was confronted with a much more open position. Even at the end of a disastrous debate on the Norwegian campaign, he retained a majority of 81. Fewer than 40 Conservatives had gone into the lobby against him. But a combination of this limited disaffection and the exigencies of the war situation — the German offensive in the West was launched 30 hours later — was judged to make a coalition government inevitable.

That made crucial the views of the main potential partner in the coalition. Chamberlain would have preferred to continue as head of the new government, but the Labour party would not have him. He accepted their veto with displeasure, perhaps even with incomprehension, but without undue remonstrance. Atlee and the other Labour leaders can therefore claim to have been decisive in removing Chamberlain from 10 Downing Street. But they did not make Churchill prime minister. They would have been content with Halifax, might even have preferred him, although there is some conflict of evidence on the latter point.

What made Churchill prime minister was, first, his famous determination not to break the silence when Chamberlain told Halifax and him that it must be one of them, and second, Halifax's genuine reluctance to take the job. Had he desired it, he could have had it. Whether we would then have had a victory is another matter.

This was the most cliff-hanging of all the choices of a successor — and the cliff was certainly the highest and steepest. But yesterday's removal was the most difficult to achieve. The attachment to office was the greatest, and the internecine quality of the struggle was the most intense.

...and moreover

ALAN COREN

I do not often ask your sympathy for arachnologists, but this week is different. This week, history dealt them one off the bottom of the deck. For this week was Michael Heseltine Week. But for Michael Heseltine, this would have been Peter Smithers Week.

Every morning, Mr Smithers hangs his hat at the Department of Biological Sciences, peart in the diadem of Plymouth's Polytechnic South West, and every evening, before he puts his hat on again, he peers inside it. He also checks his raincoat pockets, his gloves, and — if it is wet — the galoshes he left in his locker. Then he shakes his scarf a couple of times, and takes a final squint in his briefcase. Mr Smithers is looking for spiders. He wants to know where they hang out. He has wanted to know this for years. That is because his life's work is *The Atlas of British Spiders*, which he does not expect to publish before 1997, since that is how long it could take to discover where the representatives of Britain's 800 species like to kick their 4,800 heels, even with me helping him.

And this was going to be the week I started, for this is the inaugural week of the National House-Spider Survey of Great Britain. Throughout the weekend, thousands of lay spider-spotters stood quivering in the slits with their little boxes, bamboo canes, and printed report forms dispatched to them by Mr Smithers. At the gun, we volunteers were to spring to our various positions — beside plugholes, up curtains, under beds, behind boilers and inside cupboards, there not only to begin what was to be a year-long log of arachnid domiciles and habits, but also to ensure at least one example of each species clocked, pop it into a box, and post it to Plymouth for identification. For only thus would *The Atlas of British Spiders* attain the authority of Mr Smithers's dreams.

I had been looking forward to it no end. I had 10 empty fag-packets ready, an old shrimp net, a powerful torch, and a big spotted handkerchief to stuff in my mouth should screaming prove unavoidable. I was ready. I was keen. I was very possibly going to appear in a footnote.

It was at this point that the scene shifted suddenly to the Reichenbach Falls, upon which two figures had converged; one from the left, one from the right. They were Mr Michael Heseltine and Mrs Denis Thatcher. It was a horrible moment. Something terrible was about to happen to arachnology.

For the leadership struggle has filled the public prints. Now, I rarely reach the shallow end of newspapers. I splash about in the deep end for a bit, allowing myself to bob up against such flotsam of pith and moment as the night's tide has washed ashore, but fatigue sets in quite early. Sated on Gulf and Gorbey, I care not that cats from three counties had to be called to rescue a fireman from a tree.

But this week was different; suddenly there was nothing up front for which I gave a fig. Indeed, the first half-dozen pages had to be avoided if one were not to find oneself trapped by an exclusive profile of the sister-in-law of a man who had once serviced Heseltine's lawnmower, or a piece of psephological speculation on how floating Lapp Whigs might vote.

Margaret Thatcher an Eskimo. So I ignored it all, and started at page six, down-column. It was a different world. "A new problem has hit British prisons — a shortage of underpants, blamed by Mr Waddington, the home secretary, on vandalism." End of story. What was one to make of that? Nothing, I decided. I can forget the papers until the leadership is settled — and I was about to take up my spider-tackle and go to work, when my eye caught the story beneath. "A man who left a parrot without food was fined £50 yesterday for causing it unnecessary suffering. Liam Conway, 22, was told by Birmingham magistrate Raymond Rider that even spiders had feelings."

You know the rest. If a beak can levy £50 on anyone making a spider peckish, what might he not do to somebody prepared to bung one in a fag packet and send it to Plymouth on a second-class stamp? Sorry, Smithers, the advancement of science is one thing, but six months in Parkhurst without underpants is quite another.

Ronald Butt evaluates the Thatcher years

A missionary in politics



Nobody who witnessed the self-possession with which Mrs Thatcher has twice addressed the House of Commons this week could fail to have been moved by her moral strength and, yesterday, by the positive gaiety of her courage. Her rejection by her party has been in the more brutal tradition of British politics. Yet she has shown by her demeanour that she feels no sense of humiliation but rather one of triumph in a job so well done that she has changed the course of British political history. Unlike previous Conservative prime ministers rejected by their party, she leaves office not fighting off a sense of failure but relishing her achievements. Mrs Thatcher also has another comfort. She has a band of followers who mourn her as no other politician has been mourned in perhaps the whole of this century.

The reason is that, to an extent unequalled by any other peacetime political leader, she came to the leadership of her party as the personal embodiment of a political idea, and one which has been massively and revolutionarily successful. Previous prime ministers emerged because there was a vacancy to be filled by whoever seemed best qualified in the view of Conservatives in Parliament. But Mrs Thatcher was elected in a backbench revolution, the motivation of which was a recognition that an end had to be made to the so-called consensus politics of the post-war years, which had been based on the neo-Keynesian and corporatist assumptions that had dominated Tory and Labour thinking since the war.

In 1974, Edward Heath became locked in open conflict with the unions, appealed to the nation and lost power. An unhappy period followed under minority Labour governments which steadily drifted to the left, and in 1975 Mrs Thatcher was elected leader with a mandate for fundamental change, even if her supporters did not envisage the means as clearly as she did. Her mission was a return to individual responsibility, a respect for market forces, firm control of the supply of money to defeat inflation and, not least, the end of the corporatist attitudes that had stifled initiative and deprived the nation of prosperity.

In 1979 she came to power after the credibility of the Labour

government had been destroyed in the so-called winter of discontent, which revealed with frightening clarity that the unions were on the brink of ruling Britain. This was the death of the post-1945 consensus. Mrs Thatcher has often been accused of having broken it. But in truth the consensus had been destroyed by the unions and by the steady takeover of the Labour party by Marxist assumptions.

Nothing provides a clearer testimony to the way Mrs Thatcher has built a new consensus in Britain, with popular support, than the way in which she has forced the Labour party, by three successive defeats, to reform itself. If he had any sense of political decency, Jack Straw, Labour's shadow education minister, instead of making his disgusting reference yesterday to her as an "evil woman", should have paid tribute to what his own party owes her, not excluding recognition of its own damaging modification of its own damagingly egalitarian education policy.

To an extent more any other

peacetime prime minister, Mrs Thatcher has used power to further a personal conception of what needed to be done. The path had been mapped both by the crisis in politics and by a new intellectual movement of economists and political thinkers who proclaimed the case for reviving the ideas of the market. She was the right person for the time, a decade in which the idea of socialism as a provider of the wellbeing of the masses steadily collapsed, from Britain and France to China and the Soviet Union. This tide of events, however, did not make her an easy task. From the beginning of her period as prime minister, she had to overcome the resistance of many in her first cabinet who had been colleagues of Mr Heath and who resisted changes which they regarded as putting at risk the old consensus.

Yet at every stage Mrs Thatcher won the struggle with her opponents within the cabinet. Her support came from the backbenchers, the great majority of

whom had no difficulty in agreeing with her that there really was no alternative to her policies of retrenchment. One by one her principal opponents were sacked or resigned. The unions were reformed (and it was this rather than the Falklands war which ensured her election victory in 1983), and the defeat of the subversive miners' strike in 1984 symbolised the bringing of the unions within the law. State industries were privatised and gradually inflation was brought under control. A new period of general prosperity began that was exceptional in post-war history.

But times change and so do needs. Mrs Thatcher's personal handicap has been her failure to see that she could not continue indefinitely to override and bypass her cabinet. Michael Heseltine's resentful resignation over the Westland affair, when he denounced her methods of handling the cabinet, was the warning of where the danger lay. She never took the point. Buoyed up by the elixir of power, she had come to

believe herself unassailable. No politician ever is.

Mrs Thatcher had made a storehouse of enemies on her backbenches and they were ready to pounce when things went wrong. She allowed the economy to get out of hand by failure to oblige the cabinet to give proper attention to the argument between herself and Nigel Lawson over financial policy and interest rates. She made the colossal blunder of the poll tax. Above all she failed to see that British policy in Europe threatened lethally to divide the Tory party or to understand that she must work for and not against consensus on this issue.

Yet all these faults were nearly the obverse side of her overriding quality: a genuine belief in what she was doing. She has convictions about everything, from the need for objective standards in education and putting an end to bogus egalitarianism, to managing the economy and encouraging individual effort. She fights for these convictions with the belligerence of a true believer, judging people on every issue by whether they were for her or against her. Precisely because she saw herself as fighting for the cause of individual responsibility she could not bring herself even to sound warm about collective social effort. That is why she got into her "there-is-no-such-thing-as-society" predicament, contenting herself with reciting old figures to show her government's spending records for the social services. Because of her manner she got no credit for them.

She has been forced to go because her party senses that a new consensus has to be found, which both embraces market forces and social concern and produces a European policy that preserves national accountability and takes us forward in the development of the Community. She has been ejected in a barbarous fashion because she made any other way impossible. Yet the stormy end of her prime ministership is itself a witness to a successful tenure of power. Of all the prime ministers I have known, from Harold Macmillan to Lord Callaghan, she was the one who most wanted to do things, as distinct from simply being prime minister. I hope that her successor is in the same mould.

Ivor Crewe on the electoral effect a new leader could have on Conservative fortunes

Party unity is the name of the game

Has Mrs Thatcher, by sacrificing herself, saved her party? Can a change of leader transform a party's election prospects? Or do the Conservatives still face a decisive defeat once the media excitement and opinion poll froth have subsided? The weight voters attach to a leader's qualities is not easily disentangled from the three other "p factors" of a party's overall appeal — programme, past performance and political unity. But personal qualities have some independent impact. To simplify, they make more impact than the policy manifesto, but less than economic performance or, above all, party unity.

In the television age, the electoral impact of leaders has probably grown, but few voters choose parties on the basis of their leaders. The electorate voted Labour out of office in 1970 and again in 1979 despite preferring Wilson to Heath, and Thatcher to Callaghan.

Statistical analyses show that, once party loyalty and ideology have been "factored out", the

extra percentage swing a leader produces is normally no more than two or three points. Computer simulations indicate that in 1983 a Labour party led by Denis Healey rather than by Michael Foot would have closed the Conservative lead by six points — and Mrs Thatcher has never been the liability that Foot was. Thus the pro-Conservative swings of anything up to 10 points attributed by polls to Michael Heseltine considerably exaggerate his vote-winning capacities.

Myths abound about Mrs Thatcher's "popularity". In terms of "satisfaction ratings" in the polls she has been the least popular prime minister since the war, second only to Edward Heath (just). A long-term decline of deference to all political leaders is part of the explanation, but exasperation among ordinary voters is the bigger part. Not since Lloyd George has a prime minister so polarised opinion.

She presided over three Conservative victories; she did not win them by dint of her personal popularity. In 1979 the Conser-

vatives won — or, rather, Labour lost — despite her. In 1983 her post-Falklands popularity added substantially to the margin of victory, but even under a different leader, and without the Falklands triumph, the Conservatives would have won on the back of an economic recovery and Foot's implausibility. In 1987 her net impact was neutral.

Had Mrs Thatcher stayed on she would almost certainly have lost the Conservatives votes. From 1979 to the Westland affair in January 1986 she ran about five points ahead of her party in popularity and was therefore a potential vote-puller. Between the Westland affair and autumn 1989 she ran equal with her party, but since Nigel Lawson's resignation she has been running three to four points behind.

Any new leader will therefore start with the double advantage of not being Mrs Thatcher and of having a honeymoon period with voters lasting perhaps six months.

In the immediate months ahead, Labour's lead in the polls will undoubtedly narrow, perhaps

sharply. But then normality will return and the prime minister's qualities will again count for just a few percentage points.

What qualities should the wavering Conservative MP for a marginal constituency look for if he is solely concerned with saving his seat? Popularity is a portmanteau term. Voters clearly distinguish between personal likeability and political competence. Ideally they want both, but, forced to choose, they will vote for competence.

When asked by the 1987 British Election Campaign Study to rate the importance for their vote of nine "leader qualities", the top three were "capacity for team leadership", "being well informed" and "decisiveness" — the abilities of the manager, not the warrior. Being "tough" and "energetic" came seventh and eighth, and "likeability" was last.

The weekend polls suggested that in voters' eyes Mr Heseltine led Douglas Hurd on managerial leadership and likeability, but evaluations will change after a few months of office, and John Major

remains an unknown quantity. Moreover, a leader's qualities cannot compensate for a weak economy or a divided party. The lesson of Churchill's defeat in 1945 is that voters prefer a mouse leading a party they trust to a lion leading a party they do not. And the lesson of 1983 and 1987 is that unity trumps policy and performance. No visibly divided government has been re-elected to office, and when fissures have crystallised into splits the government has been cast into the wilderness for a generation.

Thus the instinct of many Tory MPs to vote for and rally behind the leader who can best unite the party makes electoral as well as psychological sense. With Norman Tebbit declining to run, the choice comes down to which leader can best reconcile the unreconstructed Thatchers. The Thatchers may be suddenly bereft of their old leader and any new standard bearer. Yet, ironically, the electoral prospects for their party still lie in their hands. The author is professor of government, Essex University.

Memories are made of this

Where were you when you heard that Mrs Thatcher had resigned? The question seems about to join the great saloon bar favourite about Kennedy's assassination. And the similarity does not end at the shock value; both events share the same date, November 22.

As leader of the Opposition, Neil Kinnock was tipped off by Downing Street at 9.15am, half an hour before the official announcement. Kinnock was on his way to the Commons by car when the call came through. Fortunately, says his aide, his chauffeur was at the wheel. "Otherwise we would have feared for his safety," one says.

Edward Heath, ousted as party leader by Mrs Thatcher all those years ago, was one of the last to know in Westminster, where he was in his room waiting. He was rung by a newspaper reporter demanding his reaction. "To what?" asked a bemused Heath. Even when told he was keeping his own counsel, Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown was 26,000ft in the air on a flight to Scotland to campaign in the Paisley by-election. His officials were frantic to get the news to him before he met the press on the tarmac. "Mobile telephones don't work in space. But we managed to get through within seconds of him landing," says his office.

Jeffrey Archer, a personal friend of the prime minister, was at his London home writing letters. "A call came through from a friend at Number 10. I was rooted to the spot. I thought she would fight on

to the end." Archer immediately sent round a farewell gift which he had bought almost a decade ago in preparation for this moment — a rare early edition of one of Mrs Thatcher's favourite works, *A Tale of Two Cities*.

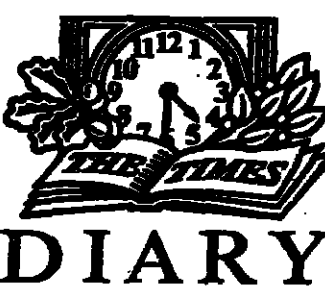
Away from the hothouse world of politics, John Wells, the impersonator of Denis Thatcher and author of *The Dear Bill Letters* and *Anyone for Denis?* was in his study writing the final chapter of a book about the London Library when a friend rang to tell him. Wells could be forgiven for having mixed feelings about the impact on his earnings, but was unequivocal. "It may very seriously dent my career," he said. "But I am still delighted."

Strange... I was sitting right here when Kennedy died.



Collector's item

Resignation can do wonders for a political image. Tony Blair was finding yesterday. Staff were instructed to place a fresh order for new Thatcher memorabilia, following a raid on the party's shop by souvenir hunters who almost cleaned out its stock.



Central Office was inundated with telephone calls from supporters, and even Labour voters, seeking to snap up the last vestiges of the Thatcher years. Showing an entrepreneurial spirit that Mrs Thatcher might admire, one order from Paris sought two dozen plates produced last year to mark her tenth anniversary as prime minister, which the French hope will become collector's items.

Keith Read, Central Office bookshop manager, said: "The telephone has not stopped; it's remarkable. They want Thatcher books, mugs, T-shirts, postcards, anything they can get their hands on. I have never known anything like it."

The 1991 party diaries, complete with Mrs Thatcher's prime ministerial photographs, were a steady seller yesterday, but most in demand were the head-and-shoulders posters of Mrs Thatcher.

The sentiment seems to have struck even some of her bitterest critics. Sir Anthony Meyer said that he expected her picture to retain pride of place in his constituency party offices. "I would go through the roof if anyone tried to take it down."

The other women

Nowhere has the in-fighting in the Tory party been more bitter than among its handful of women MPs. As they sat down this week at a dinner for female politicians of all parties, little feminine solidarity was on display. Labour women present sat in astonishment as the reason for the empty places allocated to Mrs Widdowson, Dame Peggy Fenner, and Dame Elaine Kellett-Bowman was hastily explained. All staunchly loyal to Mrs Thatcher, they had boycotted the event in protest at the presence of Emma Nicholson and Edwina Currie, both of whom had publicly declared they would not be supporting the prime minister.

Miss Widdowson admits that she could not bear to be in the same room with the traitors. "Considering the dinner was about promoting women politicians, their opposition to a woman leader seemed somewhat out of time," she says.

Where will Mrs Thatcher sit when she returns to the backbenches for the first time since 1991? The traditional resting place for former prime ministers is at the end of the front row, across the gangway from the government front bench. This seat, however, is already occupied by Edward Heath. Another spot favoured by former frontbench heavyweights, two rows behind, may not appeal either, since Nigel Lawson and Sir Geoffrey Howe got there first. A third possibility is a few seats along from Heath, but that depends on the outcome of the leadership contest. The present occupant is Michael Heseltine.



1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

THE THATCHER LEGACY

She picked up the pistol after all. The grey suits had their way. Yesterday, Mrs Thatcher made her final U-turn and resigned, less than a day after promising her supporters she would fight on. British politics has always been the politics of the cabal, and the cabal had spoken. From the moment Mrs Thatcher failed to achieve an overwhelming majority on the first ballot on Tuesday, the party clearly wanted an open contest on the second ballot, with Douglas Hurd and John Major in the race. Mrs Thatcher could have fought on, even with an open field. But her ascendancy was plainly over. She was beaten and she knew it. At the end, she was left in her redoubt with only her right-wing allies round her.

Mrs Thatcher's resignation is, first and foremost, a triumph of party over person. The Conservative party as an institution took a dose of Mrs Thatcher in 1975 as a patient takes a barium meal, to show up the party's faults before setting it to rights. It never clasped her to its bosom, and when she ceased to carry conviction as an emblem of electoral supremacy, it rejected her. As Trollope, the party's most astute observer, remarked, its nature is to "avoid as long as can be avoided the consideration of any question involving great change." Mrs Thatcher personified great change, and did so through to the end. The party had had enough.

Her going is monstrous cruel. Three times victor, Mrs Thatcher towers over her colleagues and her party as a true world statesman. This week had about it an air of squalid manoeuvring by an introverted male establishment, petulant at not being able to impose its collective will on her and terrified it might lose office. Westminster is a temple to the short-term, its priests picking over the faults of their leaders with ingenuously glee. That she should have departed at their bidding and not at that of the nation is humiliating, reminiscent of the cliquism the Tories love to ridicule in local Labour parties.

But rules are rules. Mrs Thatcher rose by them and has fallen by them. She need not have fallen. Complacency in her handling of the final threat to her position was her undoing. Complacency is the occupational disease of long-time rulers, and she should have been on guard against it. She always prided herself for her skill as a political fighter. This was the rock on which she built her role as statesman. At the final moment the skill deserted her. But if the party loses the next election as a result of this panicky act of assassination, it will serve it right.

Margaret Thatcher ranks among the most remarkable prime ministers in modern British history. Her status is based not on longevity alone, though longevity in any prime minister is both an achievement and a natural spur to fame. Nor is it based on her detailed record. Churchill was a more effective embodiment of nationhood in a crisis. Gladstone was a finer orator. Lloyd George was a greater political iconoclast, and certainly a more assiduous manipulator of power-without-party.

The prime minister to whom Mrs Thatcher is most comparable is probably Disraeli, the outsider who came to guide the Tories through a period of necessary change: "I had to prepare the mind of the country... and to educate our party." Like Disraeli, she swept to power dedicated to the overthrow of a Whiggish oligarchy, the corporatist barons of the Wilson and Heath years. Her appeal was that of the classic usurper of oligarchy, going over its head to the British people. The oligarchy now has its revenge, but not before she made a remarkable impact on the political scene.

The headline incidents of Mrs Thatcher's reign need little rehearsal. The cold douche of 1980-82 to cure the economy of the Callaghan inflation; the high-risk Falklands adventure; the confrontation with the miners; the "banana skins" of 1985-86 culminating in the Westland fiasco; and what she regards as her greatest error, the Lawson inflation of 1988: all are merely the flashing images of a decade.

On the credit side can be put a more sensible balance of industrial power between labour and capital, the privatisation of a few big nationalised industries and utilities, the instilling of greater accountability in the remainder of the public sector, the restoration of monetary discipline and the protection of the British taxpayer (at least in part) from mass assault from Brussels.

On the debit side must be rated the failure to sustain Sir Geoffrey Howe's counter-inflation strategy of the early 1980s, the tardiness of changes in health and education, the conservatism and secrecy which dominated the conduct of administration, the neutering of local democracy through the poll tax, the inability to marshal both the public and the private sectors in the cause of industrial reconstruction. Mrs Thatcher can rightly claim to have sustained the welfare state - next year public spending is to tip over the £200 billion mark - but her evident distaste for it left her vulnerable to the charge of lack of compassion, not caring enough for the losers in society. "Tory men, Whig measures," might have reflected her Disraelian pragmatism, but she would not take credit for it. Never did the public sector have so hostile a custodian.

The notable feature of Mrs Thatcher's rule was that the whole was greater than the sum of its parts. She inherited a depressed and introspective nation, worrying at its decline from second to third-class status. The irony of an apostle of Hayek and of the non-interventionist state being so authoritarian a ruler was completely lost on her. She gave the nation an almighty kick just when, and just where, it needed it. Isolated from her party and cabinet, isolated from natural allies abroad by chauvinism, isolated in her womanhood from the male culture of Westminster and Whitehall, she turned assertive solitude into a leadership cult that mesmerised democrats in every corner of the globe.

She restated some of the timeless tenets of British Conservatism. She shouted the evil of communism, opposing it until she judged its empire was crumbling, at which point she lent avid support to the demolition contractor,

Mikhail Gorbachev. She repaired the alliance with America, and proved its robustness during the Falklands and Gulf confrontations. She opposed international humberg wherever she encountered it, at the United Nations, in the European Community, over sanctions against South Africa. If her language was sometimes arch, she never obfuscated its message: that the political and economic freedom of the nation state is the absolute obligation of the democratic ruler. Uttered by her, such obvious "motherhood" maxims took on a new freshness and new meaning.

At home, Mrs Thatcher was the politician of realism. In 1979, she marked the end of a quarter century in which British governments had become citadels of the free lunch, in which, as Crosland had said, the growth dividend was for government to spend. Thatcherism turned the argument on its head. The dividend from growth was for the individual to spend. And only if the individual was left to spend it would there be a dividend at all.

"Individualising" the generation of wealth was the touchstone of Thatcherism. Here, more than anywhere else, lies the contrast between her philosophy and that of her opponents, be they Edward Heath, Michael Heseltine or Neil Kinnock. Mrs Thatcher never showed much respect for the Burkean ideal of Conservatism, of a compact of political continuity between the generations. She was one of the few true radicals ever to occupy Downing Street.

There cannot be an institution, company or branch of government which does not think differently of itself after a decade of Thatcherism. Detractors may point out that cash limits and financial discipline were ushered in by Denis Healey in 1976. But it was Mrs Thatcher who gave intellectual thrust to the concept of a diminishing public sector compelled to show value for money to the public. She was careful to preserve a redistributive political economy - she spent more in real terms on public education, health, law and order, and local services - but she was not frightened of privatised welfare. If she did not go as far down this road as she or her friends might have liked, her commitment to privatisation never dimmed.

This commitment was rooted in a belief in individual choice, a belief that ran as a leitmotif through all her policies. Sometimes it overwhelmed her government's cohesion. Her enthusiasm for opting out transformed the public sector, including hospitals, housing estates, schools and universities. But it held the seeds of social divisiveness, especially in the cities, which seemed to leave Mrs Thatcher unconcerned. She seemed equally unconcerned by the impact on provincial Britain of her successive, often chaotic, reforms in local finance and government.

The poll tax was a dreadful mistake, one which her successor must struggle to rectify. Britain's inner cities, monuments to more than three decades of incompetence at every tier of government, are among the worst in Western Europe. Thatcherism had sadly little to say to them.

Instead, the national economy was the foundation on which Mrs Thatcher built her castle, and it was the erosion of that foundation that brought her demise. Too much faith was placed, throughout her period, in the wisdom of the Treasury, an institution whose bureaucratic strength, given its intellectual weakness, lies at the heart of many of Britain's ills. The exchange-rate policy of 1988-89, supported by her former cabinet critics, led to the recurrence of high inflation, a resulting rise in interest rates and the failure of the Tory poll rating to recover from its mid-term blues.

In her interview with *The Times* last weekend, Mrs Thatcher confessed this to be her greatest error, characteristically blaming herself for not overruling her then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson, in his policy of shadowing the Deutschmark. The thesis of the critics, that she should have joined the European exchange-rate mechanism then, is simply absurd. Britain did, in practice, join it under Mr Lawson. The great engine of counter-inflation - linkage to a "strong" Euro-currency - proved itself to be the engine of inflation. The result was Mrs Thatcher's "two wasted years" as she battled to bring that inflation back under control. She will not now see the fruits of victory in that battle.

Mrs Thatcher's critics made much of her inadequacies as a manager of men. British politics is perhaps ill-served by granting leadership to those who have no experience of organisation or management. Mrs Thatcher was one such. Her cabinet style was terrible. Her ability to soothe, coax and cajole was almost non-existent. But all great statesmen have made poor personnel directors. Mrs Thatcher's failings in this department were considerable and played their part in the resignations of recent years. An American politician would look on the ineptitude of Mrs Thatcher's private office this past month with astonishment. Yet as her strengths gave Britain 11 years of economic revival and confident leadership, so her weaknesses brought about her eventual defeat. She sought few allies, needed few scapegoats and now offers no excuses. She went, after a characteristic flourish of resistance, with dignity.

Whichever of the three candidates is successful in next week's ballot, he must maintain the nation's guard against forces that Mrs Thatcher rightly identified as enemies of an open society. He must protect sound money and restraint in spending from the natural expansionism of the public sector. He must protect an attachment to self-help in fiscal and social policy from the natural interventionism of even the most well-intentioned welfare state. He must fight for freer "supply side" markets against the natural cartels of labour and capital. He must fight against hypocrisy in international affairs, fight in particular the unjustified delegation of British sovereignty to supranational institutions.

Above all, he must fight Mrs Thatcher's successor must remember her most challenging message, that the task of a democratic leader is to lead, not just to follow, the people. This legacy is an awesome one.

End of Thatcher's years at helm

From Mr Alan M. Stubbs
Sir, Donkeys led by a lion.

Yours faithfully,
ALAN M. STUBBS,
Down Court Cottage,
Matching Road, Hatfield Heath,
Bishops Cleeve, Hertfordshire.

From Miss Victoria Kyme
Sir, Conservative MPs' memories are very short. Many of those who have served in government over the last 11 years would never have had the chance to do so without Margaret Thatcher.

In 1979 the prime minister gave this country back its national pride, and went on to achieve so much more. This is how her colleagues repay her. They do not deserve to serve this country.

Yours faithfully,
VICTORIA KYME,
20a Blenheim Terrace, NW8.

From Mr Peter Marsh
Sir, As usual, Margaret Thatcher has put her country before herself and her own reputation.

Sincerely,
PETER MARSH,
The Wind in the Willows Hotel,
Derbyshire Level,
off A57 Sheffield Road,
Glossop, Derbyshire.

From Mr D. Gross
Sir, It is not high time that there should be a regulatory body to protect the electorate from the verbal activity of politicians - e.g. Mr Heseltine: "I think Mrs Thatcher will lead the Conservative party in the next general election and win it". Mrs Thatcher: "I fight on. I fight to win".

Yours truly,
D. GROSS,
16 Oakcroft Road, SE13.

From Mr S. Klinger
Sir, GCSE history paper, June 2000. Answer the following composite question in two words:

Who, by spending only £100,000 a year for four years, achieved the following:
a. Destroyed the myth of a united Conservative party.
b. Gave a lot of satisfaction and a propaganda success to an Iraqi dictator.
c. Gave politics an even worse reputation than it had.
d. Attempted to remove the most able and perceptive leader in Europe.
e. Revealed that 16 members of parliament had made their careers in politics because they were too dumb and indecisive to do anything else.

Yours faithfully,
S. KLINGER,
141 London Road,
St Albans, Hertfordshire.

From Mr Peter Brooks
Sir, The cowardly and disgraceful way in which a minority of Tory MPs have ditched Margaret Thatcher only shows their unfitness to rule.

Never again should MPs be protected by a secret vote. It is clear from the pro-Thatcher constituency support that many members disregarded their electors' wishes. All will pay the penalty come next polling day.

Yours faithfully,
PETER BROOKS,
St Anthony,
Portnall Drive,
Westworth, Surrey.

From Mr Alan Bird
Sir, From a future edition of the Pocket Oxford Dictionary: "Oxy-moron, n. Figure of speech with pointed conjunction of seeming contradictions (e.g. the Tory faithful)..."

Yours faithfully,
ALAN BIRD,
3 Trinity Cottages,
Richmond, Surrey.

Local consensus
From the Town Clerk of Louth
Sir, Your local government correspondent's welcomed report (November 12) on the unexpected consensus between Labour and Conservatives on their planned future of local government, based on the belief that small is beautiful and civic pride must be retained, prompts me to suggest that these laudable aims can best be achieved thus:

Primarily, by refocusing on the worth of those towns not part of a conurbation in any scheme of local government, bearing in mind that the town is also the focal point of the rural hinterland, both being the community of interest which the local government is designed to serve.

Secondly, by the acceptance that a monochromatic scheme of local government throughout the country is less important than the principle that decisions should be taken as close as possible to the people they affect.

Yours faithfully,
F. P. WEIR, Town Clerk,
The Town Hall, Eastgate,
Louth, Lincolnshire.
November 12.

Pony advertisement
From Mr David Sower
Sir, *The Times* may in retrospect (leading article, November 17) now regard as "regrettable" its original decision to publish the RSPCA's advertisement showing a dead pony hanging from a hook. For the unrepentant RSPCA, however, the high-profile impact achieved as a direct result of the Advertising Standards Authority ban will be gratifying.

It is certain that the debate on this issue, which involves strong feelings of revulsion in the UK, will now run and run editorially, while the funds originally earmarked for these advertisements can be diverted to other projects. By any measure, what a marvellous, unplanned double success for the RSPCA.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID SOWER,
41 Gravel Hill Terrace, Boxmoor,
Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire.

From Mr R. N. Wadhani
Sir, Your leader, "A regrettable advertisement", set out quite excellently the legitimate bounds governing the use of shocking

Letters to the Editor

From Mr Barry Rose
Sir, Why cannot the Conservative party elect its leader by including in the selection process not only MPs but also MEPs and members of the House of Lords accepting the Conservative Whip, representatives of those who are on the party's list of candidates, the constituency associations, and other elements of the party such as national advisory committees for women, local government, universities and Young Conservatives? It has already its central council, waiting in the wings, for such a role, needing very few modifications in its constitution.

Yours faithfully,
BARRY ROSE,
Courtney Lodge,
Sylvan Way,
Bognor Regis, West Sussex.

From Mr M. M. H. Gross
Sir, The Conservative MPs of Parliament should not fail to be aware that whereas they have complete freedom to choose their leader, at the next general election it will be the British electorate who will, in effect, choose their prime minister and their government.

Any choice by the parliamentary party other than Mr Heseltine will receive the most overwhelming rejection imaginable from the electorate.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL GROSS,
Cavendish House,
155 Regents Park Road, NW1.

From Mr David Penfold
Sir, Mrs Thatcher's enforced departure is a triumph for naked, shallow opportunism, made worse by the myopia of 151 other MPs who voted for Mr Heseltine.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID PENFOLD,
The Thatch, Littlewick Green,
Maidenhead, Berkshire.

From Mr Michael Stephen
Sir, Margaret Thatcher should be persuaded to serve as Secretary-General of the United Nations when that office falls vacant. She is a world political leader of unequalled experience, courage, and stature, and she is exactly what the UN needs if it is ever to do its job properly.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL STEPHEN,
118 Kennington Road, SE11.

From Mrs Helen C. Barnard
Sir, May I suggest that whoever becomes prime minister considers sending Mrs Thatcher to Brussels at the first possible opportunity, from where she could continue to protect the interests of the British nation.

Yours faithfully,
H. C. BARNARD,
Audrey House, Ely Place, EC1.

From Mr Anthony Hore
Sir, We have been hearing much about the achievements of the Thatcher years recently. I wonder whether you would consider listing them for us?

From the information available to ordinary non-aligned voters such as myself - be it the balance of trade, crime rate, illegitimacy, inflation, NHS and hospital-bed closures, public transport, university funding or whatever - there doesn't seem to be much to crow about.

Yours faithfully,
ANTHONY HORE,
Lane End, Hookley Lane,
Elsed, Surrey.

From Mr John E. Burles
Sir, The gentlemen in grey suits should now be visited by gentlemen in white coats.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN BURLES,
16a Bennett Park, SE3.

Dance steps
From Mr Hamish Forbes Burnett
Sir, Having recovered from the cultural shock of reading Mr W. M. Forrest's letter (November 19) that it is a tradition for Scots to taint their dram with a "wee scoosh" of soda water, I write to assure your readers that this must be a habit indigenous to the inhabitants of Wimbledon Common and introduced to Scotland by "white settlers".

As an exiled Highlander I took comfort in that bible of the Scots language, Mairi Robinson's excellent volume, *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, where the verb scoosh (to scoosh, as quoted in your varied correspondence) is defined as follows:

Scoosh (VT) (cause to) splash in spurts or splashes, of solid objects dart, glide, or move rapidly with a swishing sound (late 19c).

Aye yours,
HAMISH BURNETT,
The Willow,
St Catherine's Drive,
Faversham, Kent.
November 20.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number - (071) 782 5046.

The Rock returns to the agenda

From the Chief Minister of Gibraltar
Sir, Reporting yesterday (November 21) on the Spanish prime minister's opportunistic reference to Gibraltar when addressing the CSCE, your diplomatic editor states that Britain's promises to uphold the wishes of the Gibraltarians as enshrined in the 1969 Constitution "became less relevant after Franco's death, but have been repeated". He goes on to say that the Spanish government's view is that, as a democracy and as a member of Nato, the EC and West European Union, Britain has no need to retain West Europe's only colony.

We entirely agree with Señor Felipe González, Spain's prime minister, that the fundamental aspects of the Helsinki Final Act and the CSCE summit are the respect for the fundamental democratic rights of peoples the world over. Gibraltarians as a people have existed independent of Spain since 1704. You cannot put right an anachronistic status in 1990 by redrawing national borders as they were in 1703.

The absurdity of the Spanish

UK forces in Gulf
From Lord Molson
Sir, You report (November 10) that the government "calls on local authorities to give special treatment to servicemen with the British forces in the Gulf", but add that "the existing rules... have no legal force". That means that if a local authority neglects to follow the advice of the government, two soldiers, side by side in the Gulf and in every respect in similar circumstances, could be treated differently. One exempted from poll tax, the other charged.

This is unjust. It is an elementary principle of fair taxation that a tax should fall equally on people in similar circumstances. The Government should take steps immediately to rectify this anomaly which obviously was not intended either by parliament or the government.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
MOLSON,
House of Lords.
November 10.

From Mr M. F. Good
Sir, The report (November 13) from your correspondent Christopher Walker, in which members of the RAF Tornado squadron in Dhahran are said to be suffering from low morale from having to serve a tour of six months in the Gulf area, is a very sad insight into that service.

Dhahran is some 200 miles from the front line and has the advantage of being close to the sea and has most modern conveniences. The 7th Armoured Brigade is only about 30 miles from the front line and is living under "field conditions", i.e. no "mod cons".

The only complaint I have seen reported from the Army is a delay in the mail, and they are in the area until their job is finished. Similarly, the Royal Navy, who frequently send HM ships on tours of a year. Surely the time has come for the RAF to catch up with the other two services.

Yours faithfully,
M. F. GOOD,
55 Sutherland Street, SW1.
November 13.

From Mrs Ann Meardon
Sir, How sad to read, in the year that marks the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain, that the officers and men of the RAF's only fully operational squadron serving in the Gulf feel aggrieved at being asked to extend their tour of duty. To claim that RAF men are not used to maintaining combat readiness for up to six months (while acknowledging that the Army are) says little for the professionalism or robustness of the successors to "The Few".

Yours faithfully,
ANN MEARDON,
Bellway House,
Guthrie,
Forfar, Angus.
November 13.

Patent library
From Mr A. Gomersall
Sir, Mr Rayment's letter of November 10, while trying to deal constructively with the problems of the British Library at St Pancras, neglects to address a number of major issues.

The separation of patent literature has previously been considered and rejected as inappropriate because many of those interested in patents also use the non-patent material, particularly journals, very heavily indeed. Whatever the shortfall in space at St Pancras, the new building will enable us to bring literature currently divided between three reading rooms together into one building offering superior facilities for users and better conditions for storing the stock. The building has been designed to allow us fully to exploit modern technology and developments in electronic information which are already of increasing importance in the patents area.

The old Patent Office building at 25 Southampton Buildings, which houses some of the patents collection, is almost 100 years old and is unsuited to conversion. It would be extremely difficult to justify the additional expense of continuing to operate separate services there when accommodation is available at St Pancras.

Yours faithfully,
A. GOMERSALL (Director,
Science Reference and Information Service, British Library),
25 Southampton Buildings, WC2.
November 13.

Dance steps
From Mr Hamish Forbes Burnett
Sir, Having recovered from the cultural shock of reading Mr W. M. Forrest's letter (November 19) that it is a tradition for Scots to taint their dram with a "wee scoosh" of soda water, I write to assure your readers that this must be a habit indigenous to the inhabitants of Wimbledon Common and introduced to Scotland by "white settlers".

As an exiled Highlander I took comfort in that bible of the Scots language, Mairi Robinson's excellent volume, *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, where the verb scoosh (to scoosh, as quoted in your varied correspondence) is defined as follows:

Scoosh (VT) (cause to) splash in spurts or splashes, of solid objects dart, glide, or move rapidly with a swishing sound (late 19c).

Aye yours,
HAMISH BURNETT,
The Willow,
St Catherine's Drive,
Faversham, Kent.
November 20.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number - (071) 782 5046.

claim to Gibraltar is that it is based on the restoration of the national frontier as it was three centuries ago. Many other frontiers in Europe and elsewhere have been changed in these 300 years and the changes are here to stay. Nowhere else is anyone suggesting that a community should be placed under the rule of another country against its freely and democratically expressed wishes.

Any suggestion that the UK's responsibility to honour its constitutional obligations to Gibraltar ended with Franco's death is a complete denial of all the fine principles that have just been agreed in Paris.

The only way in which Gibraltar's position can be changed in the new world order is by Spain's acceptance - as the UK does - that only the Gibraltarians can decide the future of their homeland.

Yours faithfully,
J. J. BOSSANO,
Chief Minister's Office,
6 Convent Place,
Gibraltar.
November 22.

From Mrs Ann Meardon
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Yours faithfully,
ANN MEARDON,
Bellway House,
Guthrie,
Forfar, Angus.
November 13.

Redefined food
From Mrs Sylvia Katz
Sir, A. R. Rees-Webb (November 13) asks for guidance on deciding whether a vegetable is a vegetable or a fruit in order to comply with the new EC definitions.

The mushroom of today is considered to be a vegetable, but I have here at home a copy of *Robinson's New Family Herbal*, published shortly after 1807, informing me that "It is not yet determined whether mushrooms are animals or vegetables".

Is it possible that many of the "vegetables" appearing in our shops or village shows should really be in the butcher's shop or the zoo?

Yours faithfully,
SYLVIA KATZ,
107 Albert Street, NW1.

Family norm
From Mr Charlie Colchester
Sir, "The traditional nuclear family is no longer the statistical norm", you claim (leading article, November 15). Claims of this kind seem to be part of the general myth put about that "real families are a virtually extinct species".

In fact the statistics tell otherwise. *Social Trends 1990*, published by the Central Statistical Office, gives the figure of 77 per cent of private households headed by a married couple. If that's not a norm, what is?

Yours faithfully,
CHARLIE COLCHESTER
(General Director),
Care,
53 Romney Street, SW1.

From Mr J. Douglas McVitie
Sir, Short research has dug up the following valid uses of the word: to "scoosh" with water (a good schoolboy extra-curricular activity); "what a scoosh!" (on hearing that your school team had been drawn against the side who had already conceded 197 goals); "scoosh for that message" - mother's direct invitation for you to go shopping immediately; and "scoosh!" as a simple directive to recalcitrant hens unwilling to be shut in for the night.

Yours faithfully,
J. DOUGLAS McVITIE,
9 The Crescent,
Crescent Road,
Alverstoke,
Gosport, Hampshire.
November 20.

From Mr John Drysdale
Sir, A "scoosh" can be something rather simple to accomplish, as in "England at Wembley? That should be a 'scoosh'".

Yours faithfully,
JOHN DRYSDALE,
5 Victoria Place,
Kilsyth,
Glasgow.
November 19.

GALLERIES

Erotica too masterful for blushes

John Russell Taylor welcomes the renewed interest in Egon Schiele and his decadent era

Those familiar with current classical record catalogues or Radio 3 programmes must find it difficult to believe that little more than 30 years ago Mahler was hardly ever played, little recorded, and loathly dismissed by most critics as a weird Austrian aberration, never likely to rival Sibelius. Bearing this reversal in mind, it is much easier to understand the revolutionary change in the critical fortunes enjoyed by another Austrian aberration, the painter Egon Schiele, during roughly the same period.

Schiele and Mahler were products of the Viennese sunset in the years before the first world war. Both have been accused of neuroticism and morbidity. Both were perfectly placed to benefit from the Sixties revival of interest in such *fin de siècle* movements as Symbolism and Jugendstil: the new willingness to see decadence as again divine. Schiele, though, was unusually muscular as decadents go for someone who lived only 28 years, interrupted by the war he was remarkably prolific.

Many of his paintings were portraits, more or less informal (and including a possibly "unhealthy" number devoted to his own scrawny body and just-electrocuted face); some were landscapes, and, most famous of all, there were innumerable erotic drawings of loving couples and unclothed, or barely clad, young women. The Leopold Collection of Vienna, from which the new Royal Academy show, *Egon Schiele and His Contemporaries*, is drawn, is rich in all of these classes. Dr Rudolf Leopold began

collecting shortly after the second world war, and has an undisclosed number of Schiele's, of which 50-odd are on show in London. When some of his favourites proved too fragile to travel he was able to acquire up another three masterpieces to replace them.

He has many of the most famous and biting self-portraits: if Schiele was narcissistic in his fascination with his own appearance, he was certainly far from uncritical of it. In these, his fine line is often contorted into more frankly grotesque shapes than anywhere else in his work.

The landscapes—townscapes mostly, since the countryside seems to have interested Schiele little—are at once exquisite and pulsing with an inner dynamism. But most eye-catching of all, for reasons obvious and less obvious, are the erotic pieces. In them Schiele seems both stimulated and amazingly dispassionate: his formal control is so complete that there is not a whiff of pornography. His loving couples are loving in the full meaning of the term, captured with a strange awkward tenderness. His naughty girls, displacing their skirts to reveal all, radiate a powerful sense of fun far removed from the world of *Penthouse*. It is understandable that these were too strong for many tastes before the Swinging Sixties. But such is their artistic integrity that even the stuffiest Academy regular is unlikely to be more than mildly ruffled.

Leopold's interest extends beyond Schiele to his mentor Klimt, his older (and much longer-lived) contemporary Kokoschka, and a host of Viennese artists of the time



Reflected narcissism: *Self Portrait with Winter Cherry* (1912), one of several images of Egon Schiele at the Royal Academy

who are still hardly known outside Austria. Among these, the most interesting on this showing are Richard Gerstl, friend of Schoenberg, lover of Schoenberg's wife, and early suicide because of it; Koloman Moser, prolific designer and decorative artist who could also be an excellent painter in a Fauve/Symbolist manner; and Albin Egger-Lienz, most sculptural of all pure painters. Carl Moll is a much more striking painter than he appears here, and Anton Kolig is most powerful when he allows his obsession with unclothed young men to run riot more than it does in this show. But in general it would be hard to think of a better introduction to the painting of a Vienna rich, ripe and ready to fall.

The other painter prominently on display this week, with no fewer than three London shows, is the Briton, Bernard Meninsky. He belonged to the same amazing generation of Anglo-Jewish painters as Bomberg, Gertler and Isaac Rosenberg (a cluster of centuries is already here), but he is the least-known of them. Meninsky seems to me particularly, as I have just written a book about him—as worthy of reassessment as Bomberg and Gertler. As a Jewish artist he suffers because he never handled specifically Jewish themes. As a fashionable artist for our own day, he may be lacking in philosophy. Though intensely literate, he concentrated much more on the form, the colour and the atmosphere than on content.

He was content to paint landscapes, still-lives, and above all figure compositions, in a way which was influenced by Cézanne and Matisse, while not unaware of the neo-classical Picasso. Towards the end of the Thirties, when himself recovering from a mental breakdown, he found comfort in exquisite paintings of a kind of pastoral Golden Age. Individuals and family groups travel contentedly through generalised, richly coloured landscapes which owed something to Blake and Palmer and more to the power of his own inner vision. His life was frequently plagued by devils, and he took his own life in 1950. But this can hardly be guessed from his art. Prospectively this might be seen as an outstanding example

of art as therapy. But more important, these later paintings are moving evidence of the triumph of life itself.

Egon Schiele and His Contemporaries. Royal Academy of Arts, Piccadilly, W1 (071-439 7438), daily 10-6, until Feb 17.

Bernard Meninsky: Oil Paintings. Belgrave Gallery, 22 Mezzur Yard, SW1 (071-930 0294), Mon-Thurs 10-6, Fri 10-2, until Dec 7. Bernard Meninsky: Works on Paper. Blond Fine Art, 10 Canalside Studios, 2-4 Cranman Road, N1 (071-759 4383) Wed-Sun 11-6, until Dec 7. The Anglo-Jewish Connection, Part II. Boundary Gallery, 98 Boundary Road, NW8 (071-624 1126), Tues-Sat 11-6, until Dec 4. Bernard Meninsky, by John Russell Taylor, is published by the Redcliffe Press at £29.95.

BRIEFING

Going in to bat

THE Royal Opera House has announced yet another important cast change—for the third time this month. Following the withdrawal of Edita Gruberova from *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and Jan Binkhof from *Fidelio*, comes news that James King has pulled out of *Die Fledermaus* at his own request. The role of Alfred, the Italian tenor, is now entrusted to Bonaventura Bottone. Richard Bonynge conducts all performances of Strauss's Viennese romp (which opens December 15). At the New Year's Eve performance it is expected that his wife, Dame Joan Sutherland, will make a "surprise" appearance.

Place your bets

AS THE tipsters start to set the odds on Oscar nominations, Kevin Costner's *Dances With Wolves* is looking like a serious contender. The actor's first film as director (he also stars) is a three-hour Western hailed by critics as a quietly masterful epic. While first chances may be less sensitive to subtlety, the odds are that Costner's pro-naïve frontier film will appeal directly to the *Nineties zeitgeist* of back-to-nature.

Say cheese

THIS is the time of year when the cast of *The Mousetrap* finish its 12-month run at the St Martin's Theatre and is replaced by a fresh batch of actors. From Monday, aficionados of the world's longest-running play (15,817 performances) will be able to watch two new female suspects (Madeleine Smith and Cheryl Kennedy). Patrons with memories stretching back to 1952, when the play opened, can compare the first detective, Richard Attenborough, with the latest, Tony Boncza. All that remains of the original set is a leather chair and a French mantel clock.

Magic moment

MOZART's *Magic Flute* can rarely have been put to better use than by Opera 80's imaginative education and community department, which is using the work for its first residency project with physically handicapped people. The workshop will allow people suffering from cerebral palsy, arthritis and multiple sclerosis to take part in a creative opera project alongside professional musicians. The course takes place at the Skylark Centre in Notting-ham next week.

Last chance...

IN HER later years, Marevna was an unexpected figure to find happily settled in Ealing. A juvenile prodigy in Russia, an important member of the painters of La Ruche and an associate of Soutine, Modigliani and others, she also had a love affair with Diego Rivera. She painted in her own style—a unique cross between Cubism and Pointillism. Her two volumes of autobiography speak for her, but her paintings do so even more eloquently. See them until Monday at the Cooling Gallery, 38 Albermarle Street, W1 (071-409 3500).

Indian treasures displayed in royal style

Rarely has the unveiling of a hidden treasure and largely unknown collection been so eagerly awaited as that of the Nehru Gallery in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which opens its doors to the public today. Nobody will be disappointed. By any standards, the breadth and sheer quality of the treasures on view from a wonderfully rounded and memorable exhibition; that they represent less than five per cent of the V&A's collection of 35,000 pieces of fine and decorative Indian art is little short of staggering.

In the light of the fact that the V&A holds Indian artworks dating back to 200 BC, as well as some fine examples of fifth century Brahmanical art and Buddhist sculpture, it is at first surprising to discover that this inaugural selection spans only the years 1550 to 1900. But this period boasts a true embarrassment of riches. The exhibition traces pre-Mughal India, the Moguls (who lived in the 16th and 17th centuries: the most opulent and exciting period of all), the Sultanates, the Rajput Courts and the India of the British Raj. The arrangement is logical, and the V&A's presentation is quite simply superb.

Visitors enter the gallery through a splendidly detailed 17th-century green marble colonnade taken from a royal retreat in Rajasthan. Immediately they are confronted by



Rich in design and colour: an 1680 painting by Basohli

the focal point and true heart of the exhibition—a raised pavilion devoted to the Moguls. Rich in colour and sympathetically lit, its walls are studded with sections of original fretted window-screens. The sandstone textures and the brilliantly glowing apertures are set off beautifully by the pinkish and gently shifting light that washes over the walls.

Within the cases are treasures. The famous white nephrite jade wine cup of Shah Jahan of 1657—its handle a goat's head, its base an open flower—vies for attention

with some remarkably delicate 17th-century glass and, of the same date, an extraordinary fragment of carpet which shows the classic Mogul flowering design, but with a distinctive lattice border that appears decidedly Turkish.

Among the more refreshing exhibits are some attractive ladies' and children's dresses of the late 18th century, made of fine white muslin and alive with appliqué tinsel and sparkles. Here are 19th-century chairs in the Regency style, completely covered in delicately worked ivory, and late 17th-century

mother-of-pearl chests that shimmer and glisten with a thousand pastel colours. There are dazzling displays of swords and muskets, an unusually elegant late 18th-century neo-classical ivory dressing table and an ivory inlaid chest on stand, its classic Indian detailing tipped by a Chippendale-style broken pediment.

The 18th-century watercolours seem as fresh as if newly painted, and the wall-hangings are gently beautiful—particularly one of around 1640, depicting people dressed in Persian and Dutch costume, rather than Indian. Its soft turquoise, peach and pink melts before the eye. One can be delighted by 17th-century silver and brass floor weights (intended to prevent mats from fluttering in the breeze) and then turn in order to be thrilled by the opulence of such grandiose exhibits as a 19th-century throne, completely covered in hammered sheets of embossed gold.

Enough. The Nehru Gallery is magnificent: it simply must be seen.

JOSEPH CONNOLLY

● The Nehru Gallery of Indian Art opens today at the V&A, Brompton Road, London SW7 (071-938 8441). A book accompanies the exhibition: *Art of India 1550-1900* edited by John Gray and Deborah Swallow. V&A £19.95.

CRITIC'S CHOICE GALLERIES

STILL SWINGING: Pierre Cardin began with the blossoming of the New Look, but his most decisive contribution was in the bizarre shapes and extraordinary materials with which he created the Swinging Sixties. Past, present, future—he is still here. Victoria & Albert Museum, Cromwell Road, London SW7 (071-624 8500). Mon-Sat, 10am-5.50pm, Sun, 2.30-5.50pm, until January 6.

BY THE LINE: Eric Rimington has long had a spare time, out-of-doors interest in the strange desolate landscape of the railway—scrubby vegetation, deserted stations, long-forgotten sidings. Three series of drawings, from 1982, 1986 and 1988, attest to the devotion. Swiss Cottage Library, 88 Avenue Road, London NW3 (071-880 5878). Mon, Thurs 9.30am-8pm, Tues, Fri, 9.30am-6pm, Sat, 9.30am-6pm, until December 8.

WAR TIME MODERN: Jack Bilbo was a wild, émigré modernist who blew some unpredictable life into the London gallery scene during the thin war years, setting up the Modern Art Gallery. Unfettered, forgotten, but here happily revived. England and Co, 14 Neatham Road, London W11 (071-221 0417). Tues-Sat, 11am-8pm, until November 30.

HAPPY HOLIDAYS: Few people might single out the bleak channel coast of France for its natural beauty or architectural splendour. Glenn Boyd here puts in an enthusiastic minority report, in delicately provocative watercolours. Albemarle Gallery, 18 Albemarle Street, London W1 (071-355 1880).

Mon-Fri, 10am-6pm, Sat, 11am-1pm, until November 30.

HISTORY IN SPADES: Throughout the 19th century and well into the next, an amazing amount of British archaeology was devoted to investigating the truth of the Bible. A fascinating story, throwing up all sorts of artistic delights as by-products, is well told in *Archaeology and the Bible*. British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1 (071-363 1555). Mon-Sat, 10am-6pm, Sun, 2.30-6pm, until March 24.

SPANGLES AND DREAMS: Gillian Ayres is one of our cheeriest artists as well as one of our most accomplished. Her new paintings are full of colour and fizz, starting from some almost imperceptible reality and then exploding into brilliant and dynamic pattern. Fischer Fine Art, 30 King Street, London SW1 (071-889 3842). Mon-Fri, 10am-5.30pm, Sat, 10am-1pm, until December 14.

JOHN RUSSELL TAYLOR

Doomed. Bourgeois. In love.

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'WONDERFULLY ENJOYABLE...Beautifully scripted and acted'
'VERY FUNNY...reminds me of early WOODY ALLEN'



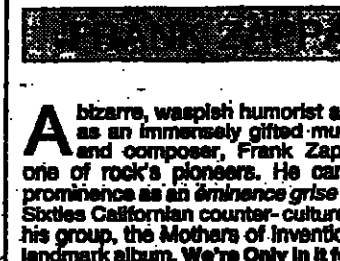
Metropolitan

Produced & Directed by John Gordon Sinclair. Distributed by Mainline Pictures. Starts today. CANNON. 071 379 2014. 200 REVIEWS. 11.11.90. 071 250 1294. 071 250 1294. 071 250 1294.

The final part of David Sinclair's collectors' A-Z, a guide to the essential albums of the most enduring performers of rock. To qualify for inclusion in this series,

an act must have sustained a recording career of at least 10 years, and have mustered at least one decent album during that time. The entries are designed to

be pasted on to index cards and stored in a filing box, available from most stationery shops, to form an instant guide to the hits and misses of rock history.



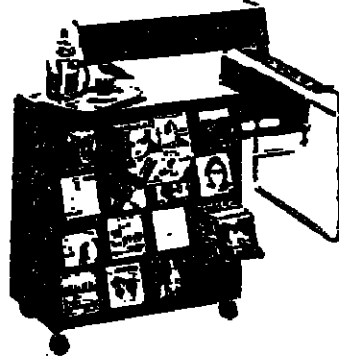
Pioneer: Zappa

A bizarre, waspish humorist as well as an immensely gifted musician and composer, Frank Zappa is one of rock's pioneers. He came to prominence as an *avant-garde* grise of the 1960s Californian counter-culture with his group, the Mothers of Invention. Its landmark album, *We're Only in it for the Money* (1968), is a deranged patchwork of styles from hard rock to doo-wop, pastiche. It mocks everything held dear by the flower-power generation, who lapped it up, nevertheless. As one of the first to inject elements of jazz and classical music into his work, Zappa profoundly enriched the vocabulary of rock, although the commercial appeal of his albums has been circumscribed by their unpredictability and often boggling complexity. His most impressive recording is *Hot Rats* (1969), which boasts the memorable 'Peaches on Regatta' and a gossamer vocal by Captain Beefheart on 'White Pimp'. His other most notable successes are *Sheik Yerbout* (1978) and *Ship Arriving too Late to Save a Drowning Witch* (1982).

tion is loaded with wry, sparkling imagery and several shades of killer blues-rock riffs. Deguile (1979) is another recording of deceptively casual brilliance. It features the Top classic, 'Cheap Sunglasses', and the surreal narrative of 'Manic Mechanic', an early indication of the group's fascination with drag racers. The rest of the world eventually found out about ZZ Top thanks to the band's sharp pop melodies, relentless four-on-the-floor drumming and souped up guitar roar of Eliminator. At more than 10 million copies sold, it remains their biggest album by far.

Roll over Beethoven.

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OPERA

Fidelio Covent Garden

THOSE in search of a thoroughly theatrical *Fidelio* should speed to Covent Garden. The new production, which replaces Andrei Serban's Blakeian vision, comes via the Monnaie in Brussels. It moves swiftly and surely, is powerfully cast and is conducted with fine muscular authority by Christoph von Dohnanyi.

Adolf Dresen's staging is in some ways studiously old-fashioned. There is a front-cloth — not many of those are seen nowadays — with a faded and peeling painting of the Angel of Mercy. Clearly that particular quality is in urgent need of restoration. Margit Bardy's sets are box-like from the start, with the opening scene placed not in a courtyard but in Rocco's study, where the rifles of marching soldiers can be glimpsed through grimy windows. A caged bird at the back of the room indicates that man does not build prisons for man alone.

Outside in the courtyard the atmosphere is more Königsberg than Seville. But no complaints about that, for Carmen's city is no more relevant to *Fidelio* than it is to *Don Giovanni*. Peaked caps and Prussian blue trenchcoats are the dress of the day. Dresen and Bardy are at their most convincing in Florestan's cell, a hole at the bottom of a well where a vertical shaft of light picks out the metal rungs built into its sides. The closing scene is less successful and lacks the spirit of Berthoven's freedom suddenly breaking down the prison walls.

A production which runs the risk of being a bit dull in its effort to stay basically traditional is careful to make a few changes. Dresen keeps *Fidelio* constantly on the move by pruning the spoken dialogue severely and where necessary altering it. There is no *Leonore No 3* and at the start of the final scene Florestan and Leonore are found clasped together as they were at the end of the impassioned duet, "O namenlose Freude".

The sharpest and most original creation is Robert Lloyd's Rocco, who could be a cousin of his fellow

jailer, Frisch from *Fledermaus*, by the amount of schnapps he drinks, were it not for his devotion to duty about which he mutters regularly. Lloyd's almost impenetrable disguise is completed by a game leg — war wound or the gout? — which must have made it difficult to climb down those rungs on Rocco's rare visits to Florestan. But if the body is impaired then the voice is in excellent fettle, conveying all Rocco's desire to keep as far as possible out of harm's way.

Gabriele Beňačková's first Covent Garden Leonore suggests that

possible harm holds no fears for her. "Abscheulicher" has been sung with more radiance but not often with more sustained stamina. Once over this hurdle Beňačková let her rich soprano roll out into the house just as her hair tumbles down, Anna Siljastyle, when the assistant jailer is revealed as the devoted wife.

Together with Josef Protschka, making an unexpected house debut as Florestan in place of the indisposed Jan Blahnik, he conveyed the full joy and release of "O namenlose Freude". Protschka's stocky, shaggy frame recalled one of the Garden's most admired Florestans, Jon Vickers. The voice is lighter and has more edge, but not yet the same depth. Protschka carried off the aria in confident style but had his problems with the close of the opera with everyone singing at full stretch.

Monte Pederson, a burly baritone with plenty of snarl and bluster, was excellent casting for Florestan and Neil Archer, another debut, made Jacobine a much sturdier figure than usual. He was well matched by Marie McLaughlin's Marzelline, who combines long experience in the role with undiminished charm. Add Hans Tschammer's suave Fernando and a cast without weakness is complete.

Christoph von Dohnanyi began with slow tempo, pressing some of his players, especially in the wind section to their limits. But his grip of the performance was ever sure, courteous to Beňačková in "Abscheulicher" — and conveying the full feeling of awe and rejoicing in the score.

JOHN HIGGINS



Gabriele Beňačková and Josef Protschka (foreground) with Monte Pederson (centre) and Hans Tschammer in *Fidelio*

THEATRE

Hamlet Lyric, Hammersmith

CHEEK by Jowl has a reputation second to no other touring company. It has won more awards; its productions include dazzling, subtle, enthralling British premieres of plays that are standards abroad but were hitherto thought unstageable in English. And now it has come a cropper.

Perhaps it is not a complete cropper, but Declan Donnellan's version of events at Elsinore, where Timothy Walker creates the nastiest Prince I can recall, makes for a seriously unappealing evening. By the time Hamlet soars at Laertes across Ophelia's grave, and events at last accelerate towards the pile of poisoned

corpses, the fine beginning of the production seems a long way behind.

At the start, all the characters advance from the shadows and form a phalanx on the central dais, motionless in their black, grey and white Elizabethan costume. Daniel Thorndike, bearded and helmeted for his role as Ghost, transposes the Prologue's lines from the inner play to begin the outer play; actors descend from the dais as the action requires it and are watched attentively by those who remain. This opening conveys a stately grandeur that inspires high hopes.

As the play proceeds, some words are distorted from their original meaning but without detracting to the general flow. When Claudius addresses Hamlet — "We beseech you, bend you, to remain" — he bends his knee and kneels, a most un-kinglike gesture

but one that suggests Donnellan is looking out for ways to animate the verse. And in the "too solid flesh" soliloquy, Walker invests his second "God" with such sudden doubt that we glimpse a wilderness of fear in a single word.

The point where his interpretation starts to go astray is at "O cursed spite", when the grin he gives the line suggests not horrified dismay but relish. Walker's Hamlet is a ready grinner. His mocking smile flashes at the end of many phrases. Derailed men who bumble people at bus stops smile like this and show the same moral blankness and disjoined logic that rapidly become the keywords of this nuisance of a Prince. He bounds, he bounces, he sticks out his bottom. Such frantic antics are the current mode for playing Hamlet, but they make one long for the moony, brooding

Princes of yore who just stood still and thought. Walker's Hamlet is a thinking animal, his ungovernable wildness makes everyone else look such fools to countenance it for so long.

The youth of Claudius, Scott Cherry, is another mistake. While it makes sense for Gertrude (Natasha Parry) to fancy a man scarcely older than her beloved boy, the faint authority he wields leaves a hollow in the play. Peter Needham's Dr Polonius, a peevish schoolmaster, horrid to his children, is a crisply measured performance, amusingly fussy with Peter Morton's prissy Reynaldo. Other pleasures are scattered here and there, but a production that leaves you indifferent to what Hamlet thinks, and reluctant to learn, has surely failed the play.

JEREMY KINGSTON

CONCERTS

Israel PO/BBC SO Barbican/Festival Hall

IF ZUBIN Mehta's interpretation of Mozart's "Prague" Symphony had been half as searching as the awesomely detailed performance by the security guards at the doors, the Israel Philharmonic's Barbican concert on Tuesday might have achieved memorable heights. As it was, by the interval there was still nothing much to excite the briefcase-deprived masses. And by then we had also heard a Violin Concerto by the Israeli composer Paul Ben-Haim.

All credit to Itzhak Perlman for dusting down this stupendously predictable 30-year-old effort. It has some chugging, neo-classical rhythms, a bit of heavy-duty sugary lyricism, and a lot of unduly flashy virtuosic passages. Perlman played it effectively enough; more disturbing was his rather brutal and unskillful charge through the first movement of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto. Power and speed seemed ends in themselves. That huge, warm tone could not fail to make an impression in the slow movement, and the finale had more variety.

Another great hero-figure returned to London this week. Not

quite so many chillingly precise karate-chop gestures these days, that famously daunting intellect seems prepared to make some emotional concessions towards the needs of his listeners. But Pierre Boulez's presence in front of an on-form BBC Symphony Orchestra was as galvanising on Wednesday as it was during his tenure as the BBC's chief conductor in the 1970s.

An admirably clear but also highly zestful performance of Debussy's *Images* (with some particularly lusty string playing) was followed by a voyage into the surreal, exotic world of pre-Revolution Russian opera: Stravinsky's *The Nightingale*. As with Rimsky-Korsakov's operas, Stravinsky's excursion into fairy-tale is not entirely whimsical. Nightingales seduce an emperor, it is true. But that must have seemed no more strange, in 1908, than the mad monk Rasputin hypnotising the empress's favourite family.

Boulez engineered a fine performance, properly robust and rude when debunking the pompous Chamberlain's lines (John Tomlinson, fighting gamely to be heard), but excusing the atmospheric orchestral interludes. Heading a strong cast, Phyllis Bryn-Julson sang the title role with apt Slavonic ardour.

RICHARD MORRISON

JAZZ

Oscar Peterson Festival Hall

WHEN a seat in the stalls costs £35, the music has to be very classy indeed. Patrons who are willing to pay that much money are not looking for surprises, unpleasant or otherwise. "Saturn Doll", "Mack the Knife" and general good taste are the order of the day.

No one meets that demand better than Oscar Peterson. More than 40 years after Norman Granz first signed him up for the Jazz at the Philharmonic troupe, the Canadian pianist remains in a commercial league of his own. While most of his contemporaries are still relatively speaking, playing for pennies, Peterson glides from one deluxe venue to the next. Like a stretch-limo, he is large, smooth, somewhat gaudy and extremely comforting.

People who profess not to like jazz or jazz piano will always turn out to hear him. At this stage in his career, there is not much to add to his concert. The one major feature this year is that he has reformed his acclaimed trio of the Fifties, with bass player Ray Brown and guitarist Herb Ellis. Apart from the fact that, from a

distance, the silver-haired Ellis now bears a striking resemblance to Edward Heath, indie else has changed. The new album, recorded in February at the Blue Note in New York, shows that the level of mutual understanding is undimmed.

The line-up at the Festival Hall also included Jeff Hamilton, a drummer who has turned in some outstanding work alongside Brown in the Gene Harris Trio. A visceral blues player, Harris makes full use of Hamilton's backbeat. Here, such displays of energy would have been superfluous. Although Hamilton was allowed to cut loose on the requisite number of drum solos, he was otherwise kept in the background.

Peterson's dexterity is still unrivalled, and his trills, arpeggios and surges in tempo are all executed with merring accuracy — like clockwork, some might say. But there was undeniable vitality in the swaggering blues choruses and the sudden excursions into stride piano. These affectionate references to Peterson's musical roots — in, for example, the boogie-woogie introduction to "Blue" — are far more exhilarating than the rest of his lavishly upholstered repertoire.

CLIVE DAVIS

NEW RELEASES

● **BLUE STEEL** (18) Tough, blood-soaked action thriller with a heartless plot from director Clint Eastwood. Clint Eastwood as a cop who is hired to investigate a mysterious case. (1989) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST II** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1977) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST III** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1990) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST IV** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1991) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST V** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1992) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST VI** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1993) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST VII** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1994) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST VIII** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1995) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST IX** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1996) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST X** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1997) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST XI** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1998) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST XII** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (1999) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST XIII** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (2000) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST XIV** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (2001) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **THE EXORCIST XV** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (2002) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

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● **THE EXORCIST XVII** (18) Unholy. The Exorcist returns to the screen in this sequel to the first film. (2004) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

CINEMA GUIDE

Geoff Brown's assessment of films in London and (where indicated) with the symbol (L) on release across the country.

● **CRIMINAL MINDS** (18) A gripping action thriller about a team of police officers who investigate a series of murders. (1990) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

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● **CRIMINAL MINDS XXIV** (18) A gripping action thriller about a team of police officers who investigate a series of murders. (2013) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

● **CRIMINAL MINDS XXV** (18) A gripping action thriller about a team of police officers who investigate a series of murders. (2014) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

THEATRE GUIDE

Jeremy Kingston's assessment of current theatre in London

● **THE REHEARSAL** (18) A gripping action thriller about a team of police officers who investigate a series of murders. (1990) Warner Bros. (VHS £24.95) (Laserdisc £49.95) (DVD £24.95)

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WORD-WATCHING

Answers from page 24

FORMATION

(a) Sensation of ants under the skin, often experienced by alcoholics, from the Latin *formica* an ant. "Many patients experienced a disagreeable creeping sensation or formication on their

BBC 1

- 8.00 *Cricket*
 8.30 *BBC Breakfast News* with Laurie
 9.00 *Daytime UK* with Alan Titchmarsh
 9.30 *Regional News* with Peter Dinklage
 9.50 *News*, regional news and weather
 10.00 *News*, regional news and weather
 10.05 *Children's BBC*, introduced by
 Simon Parkin, begins with *Playdays*
 10.25 *Pingu* 10.35 *People Today*. More
 reports from around the UK
 11.00 *News*, regional news and weather
 11.05 *Kitty*, Robert Kelly-Sik chairs a
 discussion on British economic
 11.45 *Before Noon*, Arian Mills and
 Ronke Phillips take your phone calls
 12.00 *News*, regional news and weather
 12.05 *After Noon*, Travel Show Extra.
 John Thirwell samples Freiburg in
 Germany and there is a report from
 Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumbria
 12.20 *Scene Today*, Stars of stage and
 screen join Jack Spars and Alan
 Titchmarsh in a children's news
 spectacular. 12.55 *Regional news*
 and weather
 1.00 *One O'Clock News* with Martin
 Lewis. Weather 1.30 *Neighbours*.
 (Contest)
 1.50 *The Need One* (1984).
 A medical fantasy story, featuring
 a doctor as a man from the future who
 materialises on Mykones where a young
 widow with a child falls for him.
 Directed by Nico Mastorakis. 3.35 *A
 Beauty for the Truth*. A comedy
 3.50 *Bump*. Cartoon 3.55 *Comics*.
 Informative show for inquisitive children

4.10 The Jetsons. Cartoon 4.35 Take

- Two
 5.00 *Newsround* 5.10 *Byker Grove*.
 Drama set in Tyne and Wear.
 5.35 *Neighbours* (1). (Contest) Northern
 Ireland. Sportsweek 5.40 *Inside Ulster*
 6.00 *Six O'Clock News* with Peter
 Dinklage and Mona Stuart. Weather
 6.30 *Regional News* with Peter
 Dinklage. Northern Ireland: *Neighbours*

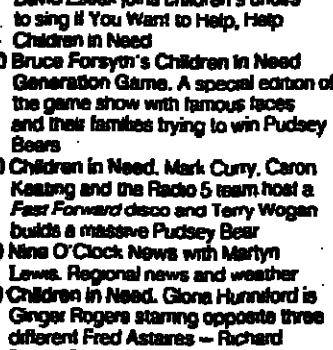


Appeal: Sue Cook and Terry Wogan (7.00pm)

- 7.00 *Children in Need*.
 CHOICE: The delights of non-stop
 Terry Wogan and Sue Cook lead on to
 a play and many a viewer may be
 tempted to send the money and hope
 they will go away. But *Children in
 Need* has a way of defeating such
 temptation. It does so by showing the
 sum of money, £21.5 million last year,
 which would surely not come in from
 a conventional television appeal. The
 continuous seven-hour bazaar is
 designed to get us in a generous mood
 and year after year, whatever the
 economic state of the nation, it
 triumphantly succeeds. The trade-off
 is getting telly to come to do silly
 things. Cross-channel fraternisation
 pairs Michael Buerk with Sandy Gall and

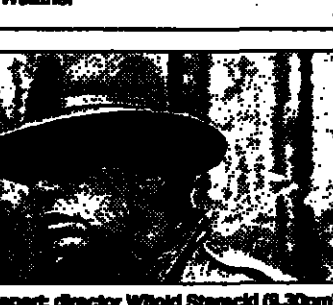
EastEnders with Coronation Street

- and the prospect of Gloria Hunniford
 playing Ginger Rogers to the Fred
 Astaire of Derek Jameson is not one that
 will be short of a pulse racing
 7.30 *Children in Need* regional
 programmes
 7.40 *Children in Need*. The cast of *Allo
 Allo* comes to the London studio and
 David Essex joins children's choirs
 to sing if you want to help. Help
 Children in Need
 8.00 *Bruce Forsyth's Children in Need*
 Generation Game. A special edition of
 the game show with famous faces
 and their families trying to win Pudsey
 Bears
 8.30 *Children in Need*. Mark Curry, Caron
 Keating and the Radio 5 team host a
First Forward disco and Terry Wogan
 builds a massive Pudsey Bear
 9.00 *News O'Clock News* with Martin
 Lewis. Regional news and weather
 9.30 *Children in Need*. Gloria Hunniford
 is Ginger Rogers starring opposite three
 different Fred Astaires - Richard
 Baker, Derek Jameson and David
 Scuderi
 9.50 *Children of Courage*. Esther
 Rantzen and Gavin Campbell from the
That's Life team meet children who
 have shown courage and bravery in their
 lives
 11.35 *Children in Need* regional updates
 12.00 *Cabaret Hour*. Terry Wogan and
 Sue Cook close the show with the
 entertainment world including the
 casts of *Miss Saigon* and *Phantom of
 the Opera*
 1.15 *Regional Round-up*
 1.45 *Highlights*. Memorable moments
 from the evening
 1.55 *Grand Total*. How much has been
 pledged to the Children in Need appeal
 so far
 2.00 *Weather*



Appeal: Sue Cook and Terry Wogan (7.00pm)

- 5.30 *Film: Alvarez Kelly* (1989). William
 Holden stars as Alvarez Kelly, the owner
 of a 2,500-strong herd of cattle
 wanted by both sides in the American
 Civil War. Kelly intends to sell the
 cattle to the Union Army, but
 Confederate officer Richard
 Widmark masterminds a plan to steal
 the herd for his own forces. Unusual
 western, spoiled by the gratuitous love
 interest provided by Janice Rule.
 Directed by Edward Dmytryk. Wales: *A
 Way With Numbers* 5.55 *Espana Viva*
 6.20 *A Vous La France* 6.45 *Wales in
 Wales*
 7.15 *Cricket: First Test*. Highlights of the
 first day's play in the match in Brisbane
 between Australia and England
 7.45 *What the Papers Say*. Peter Miller of
 the *European* looks at how the nation's
 press has treated the week's news
 8.00 *Public Eye: Nuclear Representing*
 — A Rod for Our Own Back? Ian
 Breach investigates the
 reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel rods
 at Sellafield where it is anticipated
 that new technology will enable the
 plant to deal with bigger quantities
 of nuclear waste from overseas. The
 programme questions whether the
 transport of nuclear waste is safe, and
 looks at the Swedish alternative of
 storing spent waste underground, which
 many claim is a preferable option
 8.30 *The Travel Show Guides*. The
 islands of Malta and Gozo are under the
 spotlight
 9.00 *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. More
 surreal absurdity (r)
 9.30 *Pears on a Willow Tree*.
 CHOICE: Returning to his native
 Ireland after five years in exile, the film
 director Willard Starchild presents a
 disenchanted view of his country as it
 prepares for its presidential election.
 Far from being overjoyed at the collapse



Police arrest director Willard Starchild (8.30pm)

- of Communism, older people are
 disappointed that the film will only
 mean heavy unemployment. There is
 much bitterness about Solidarity,
 once the friend of the workers, for
 abandoning the cause. It is accused
 of being careerist and swimming in US
 dollars. Delivery workers on hunger
 strike accuse Solidarity of failing to
 support them. One woman says she
 does not know who to blame any more.
 Divided into two parts, with the
 second being shown tomorrow, the film
 is presented without commentary
 and assumes a familiarity with people
 and events that most British viewers
 will not have. But the Irish are clear.
 In Starchild's eyes Poland is a country
 disillusioned with the present, terrified
 of the future and reluctantly admitting
 that perhaps 40 years of Communism
 had something to be said for them
 after all
 10.30 *Newsnight* 11.15 *Weather*
 11.20 *New West*. The best in country
 music from the new stars of the
 American scene. With Mary Chapin
 Carpenter, Katy Moffatt and Kimble
 Roper
 11.50 *Behind the Headlines*. See 4.30.
 Ends at 12.25am

ITV LONDON

- 6.00 *TV-am* begins with *News* and
 Morning Britain presented by Martin
 Fretwell and, from 7.00, by Mike Mone
 and Maye Even. With news bulletins
 from Lisa Aziz on the hour and
 headlines on the half hour. In the *Doc
 Spot* at 8.20 and 8.55 Dr Harry
 Jones discusses anti-cancer care. After
 Nine includes Russell Grant with his
 star signs for the week ahead
 9.25 *Keynotes*. Alistair Dodd hosts the
 musical quiz where contestants must
 match lyrics to tunes 9.55 *Thames
 News* and weather
 10.00 *The Time ... The Place ...* John
 Stapleton chairs a discussion on a
 topical subject
 10.40 *This Morning*. Features and advice
 on home and family matters, presented
 by Judy Finnigan and Richard
 Madeley. Beauty, style and fashion are
 on the agenda. Andrew Collinge has
 advice on hair care and Maureen Maciver
 on the latest in eye wear. Crochet and
 croquet and taffery. At 11.00 there is
 news of the latest advances in the
 fight against infidelity. Includes national
 and international news at 10.55 and
 regional news at 11.55 followed by
 national weather
 12.05 *Newsround*. Educational entertainment
 for pre-school children 12.25 *Home
 and Away* 12.55 *Thames News* and
 weather
 1.00 *News at One* with Nicholas Owen.
 Weather
 1.20 *A Problem Aligned*. A repeat of last
 night's emotional study advice
 programme with therapist doctor
 John Cobb 1.50 *A Country Practice*.
 Australian drama series set in a rural
 community's health centre
 2.20 *Thames Action*. Vis Taylor Gase and
 Joanne King present the consumer
 magazine 2.50 *Talkabout*. Andrew
 O'Connor hosts the game show for fast-
 talking couples

3.15 News headlines 3.20 Thames News

- headlines 3.25 *The Young Doctors*.
 Australian medical drama series
 3.55 *Paddington Bear*. Cartoon fun with
 the bear from darkest Peru 4.25 *How 2*.
 Carol Vorderman, Garry Jones and
 Fred Drenage host the programme
 which brings young people all
 manner of fascinating facts 4.45
Knightriders. Four West Country
 friends confront the challenging
 equestrian dunlop game organised
 by Hugo Myatt
 5.10 *Home And Away* (r)
 5.40 *News* with Sue Carpenter. Weather
 5.55 *The London Programme*. Preview
 introduced by Trevor Phillips
 6.00 *S O'Clock Live* presented by Frank
 Bough and John Barnet. The guests
 are Kim Aspley, Peter Carson
 and Screaming Lord Sutch
 7.00 *Family Fortunes*. Family quiz show
 hosted by Les Dennis. With the Tedford
 family from Scotland and the
 Coleman of Nottingham
 7.30 *Coronation Street*. Still a ratings-
 topper after 30 years (r)
 8.00 *Murder, She Wrote*. Class Act. A
 friend of Jessica's is considered to be
 one of the finest policemen in Los
 Angeles, especially when it comes to
 murder investigations, but he is
 faced with a case that could cost him his
 career in the force. Starring Angela
 Lansbury and Barry Newman
 9.00 *Coastline*. Lively, if derivative,
 comedy drama set in Blackpool with
 Peter Howitt and James Purfoy as
 the likely lads, Eddie and Mike. Business
 tycoon, Sir Howard Nash (Robert
 Lang), is interested in Mike's
 problems. But Eddie has plans of
 his own which could have a devastating
 effect on the rest of the family
 10.00 *News* at Ten with Trevor McDonald
 and Julie Somerville. Weather 10.35
LWT News and weather
 10.40 *The London Programme*. Trevor
 Phillips examines the opportunities open
 to women who wish to return to work

after having children. Are mothers

- getting a fair deal or are they
 struggling back to work against the
 odds
 11.10 *Jake and the Fatman*. Love Me Or
 Leave Me. William Corcoran stars as the
 overweight district attorney. A
 beautiful singer lures a normally honest
 policeman into a scheme to spring a
 convicted criminal from prison
 12.05am *We Got It Made*. Mickey Timing
 Two. American comedy starring Teri
 Copley. Mickey leaves instructions
 before flying off to her cousin Lucy's
 wedding in Atlanta and Jay and
 David are left to their own devices, then
 Mickey's identical cousin arrives in
 town after leaving her fiancé at the altar
 1.05 *The James Whale Radio Show*. The
 bizarre and the controversial are
 discussed by the outrageous
 James Whale. If any viewer has the urge
 to be publicly insulted ring 0532
 461000
 2.05 *CinemAttractions*. The latest news
 and behind-the-scenes reports from the
 American box office
 2.35 *Golf: PGA Tour 90*. Action from the
 RWCW invitational tournament in
 Orlando, Florida
 3.30 *The Story of Roy* (r) Roll featuring
 Little Richard. Jerry Lee Lewis, Alca
 Cooper, David Bowie, Bruce
 Springsteen, Prince, Michael Jackson
 and Tina Turner
 4.00 *The Monkees*. Atlas Mickey
 Dolenz. More antics from the eccentric
 Soles band. There is trouble when
 the boys find themselves involved with
 the mob due to Mickey's
 resemblance to the killer (r)
 4.30 *The Partridge Family*. The
 Undergraduate. Catchy tunes and
 family drama from the squeaky clean
 Partridge clan. Shirley returns to school
 to take a course in psychology and
 confronts the prospect of a freshman's
 crush. Starring Shirley Jones (r)
 5.00 *TN Morning News* with Phil Roman.
 Ends at 6.00

CHANNEL 4

- 6.00 *The Art of Landscape*
 6.20 *Business Daily*
 6.30 *The Channel Four Daily*
 9.25 *Schools*
 12.00 *The Parliament Programme*
 12.30 *Business Daily*
 1.00 *Schools*
 2.00 *Pat World*. The first of a ten-part
 series (r)
 2.30 *Film: If Winter Comes* (1947, b/w).
 An unconvincing tearjerker starring
 Walter Pidgeon as a writer whose
 happy marriage is put under strain when
 the young woman he befriends
 commits suicide after discovering she is
 pregnant. Directed by Victor Saville
 4.15 *Kaleidoscope*. A Czech animation
 bringing glass fragments to life
 4.30 *Fifteen-to-One*
 Faith in religion: Ronald Eyre (5.00pm)
 5.00 *Not on Sunday*. Brenda Power,
 daughter of one of the Birmingham Six,
 talks to Ronald Eyre about how
 religion sustains her father and his five
 fellow prisoners

5.30 American Football: Red 42. Mick

- Luickhurst and Gary Imlich present
 news, interviews and action from the
 NFL
 6.00 *Happy Days*. Comedy about high
 school life in small-town Milwaukee in
 the Fifties
 6.30 *Tonight with Jonathan Ross*. The
 guest is Freddie Starr
 7.00 *Channel 4 News* with Jon Snow and
 Zanna Bazzi
 7.50 *First Reaction*. Anne Billson of the
Sunday Correspondent attacks the hype
 surrounding the film *Teenage Mutant
 Ninja Turtles*
 8.00 *Brooklyn*. Soap set in suburban
 Liverpool (r)
 8.30 *Hard News* includes a look at the
 role newspapers played in the Tory
 leadership contest. Presented by
 Raymond Snoddy
 9.00 *Drop the Dead Donkey*. Irreverent
 comedy about the personal and
 professional misadventures of a
 busy television newscaster (r)
 9.30 *Views of Kew: A Garden for All
 Seasons*.
 CHOICE: Having in previous
 episodes taken us to the Himalayas in
 search of rare plants, the third film
 the series traces a year in the life of Kew
 and its Sussex sister, Wakehurst
 Place. It may be one of the most used
 devices in television documentary
 but it rarely fails. Nor does it do so here.
 With no taxes to grind, although there
 is a hell of a lot of money at Wakehurst
 could do with more visitors, the film
 is in gently celebratory mood as it reveals
 in the autumn colours, picks out a
 300-year-old oak and captures the glory
 of a bluebell wood in spring in the

particular 12 months, autumn came late

- and spring so early that the
 magnolias were already out in March.
 Sadly, the year also included the
 anniversary of the bombing of London
 on October 1957, but still
 destroying some of Kew's and
 Wakehurst's most cherished trees.
 (Teletext)
 10.00 *The Golden Girls*. Sharp wit from
 the four middle-aged women who
 live together in Miami. Blanche's
 man has a heart attack, meanwhile Rose
 hauls everyone off to a positive
 thinking group (Teletext)
 10.30 *This Is David Harper*. An explosive
 situation. Following in the footsteps of
 Stephen Fry's David Lander, Tony
 Slattery is the earnest reporter who risks
 life and limb to seek the truth. This
 week Harper talks to RAF armoured
 John (Tim Barker) about why he tried
 to drop a hydrogen bomb on Suffolk in
 1970
 11.00 *The World*. Whoopi Goldberg talks
 about the day she discovered she was
 black and not Japanese, there is live
 music from Blue Pearl, and a post-light
 Nigel Brown talks about his pop
 career and introduces his new video
 12.00 *Dancadize*. Braxton Academy is the
 venue for the hottest word on the dance
 and clubbing scene
 1.00am *Film: Stranger from Venus*
 (1954, b/w). Continuing the *Killer Bs*
 season, a modest but gripping sci-fi
 thriller starring Patricia Neal and Helmut
 Dantine. A Venusian is trying to warn
 earthlings about the misuse of their
 atomic technology. With Derek Bond
 and Cyril Luckham. Directed by Burt
 Balaban. Ends at 2.25

ITV VARIATIONS

- ANGLIA
 As London except 1.20pm-1.50 *Yan Can
 Cook* 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* — Where
 Are They Now? 5.10-5.40 *Champion and Best
 Video Show* 6.00 *Home and Away* 6.55-7.25
Anglia 10.40 *News* 11.00 *Regional News*
 12.25-12.55 *Video View* 2.05 *West-End
 Top Tens* in the heart of the night 3.30
Anglia 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*
 CENTRAL
 As London except 1.20pm-1.50 *Yan Can
 Cook* 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
Anglia 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*
 GRANADA
 As London except 1.20pm-1.50 *Yan Can
 Cook* 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
Anglia 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*

1.20pm-1.50 Yan Can

- 1.20pm-1.50 *Yan Can Cook* 2.20-2.50
 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
 3.30-3.55 *Anglia* 4.00-4.50
 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*
 HTV WEST
 As London except 1.20pm-1.50 *Yan Can
 Cook* 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
 3.30-3.55 *Anglia* 4.00-4.50
 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*
 HTV WALES
 As HTV except 6.00pm-6.30 *Wales at Six*
 6.30-7.00 *Welshpool* 10.40-11.40 *Elc*
 TSW
 As London except 1.20pm-1.50 *Yan Can
 Cook* 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
 3.30-3.55 *Anglia* 4.00-4.50
 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*
 TVS
 As London except 1.20pm-1.50 *Yan Can
 Cook* 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
 3.30-3.55 *Anglia* 4.00-4.50
 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*

Daily 8.25 Yagdon 12.20 Starchild 12.10

- 12.10 *Yan Can Cook* 2.20-2.50
 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
 3.30-3.55 *Anglia* 4.00-4.50
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 TYNE-TEES
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 YORKSHIRE
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 Cook* 2.20-2.50 *The Champions* 3.30-3.55
 3.30-3.55 *Anglia* 4.00-4.50
 4.00-4.50 *Anglia*

SATellite

- SKY ONE
 6.00am *Cricket*: The Ashes Tour Live.
 Continuing coverage of the first day of the
 Test from Brisbane 7.30 *The Old Kat*
 8.45 *Pat and Patsy* 10.00 *Home's
 Lady* 10.30 *The Young Doctors* 11.00 *Star
 by Day* 12.00 *The Champions* 12.30
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Star by Day 12.00 *The Champions* 1

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BUSINESS

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 23 1990

Executive Editor
David Brewerton

Relief over the power float but fears for mortgages Fresh uncertainty hits shares

By OUR BUSINESS STAFF

SHARES and the pound rose strongly after Margaret Thatcher's resignation, welcoming the prospect of a reunited cabinet with improved chances of a general election victory.

But the gains were largely eliminated by the close of trading after renewed uncertainty over the outcome of a three-way contest for the Conservative leadership.

Starting surged by 2 pence in frenetic trading after the resignation news, almost touching DM2.9300 at one point, before market sentiment turned amid renewed uncertainty.

By 11 am, the pound was back down to about DM2.92, settling below that level for the rest of the London trading day. At the close, with hopes of early interest rate cuts faded, the pound closed at DM2.9123, still up 18 points on the previous day.

Gains against the dollar were also shed in the course of the day, despite positive sentiment for sterling generated by Mrs Thatcher's resignation, it closed at \$1.9697, up about 12 points on its previous finish.

The Bank of England trade-weighted index ended close to its best for the day at 94.2, up 0.2 point on Wednesday, reflecting the broad improvement in the pound.

The Bank signalled through its market operations that the base rate would remain at 14 per cent, despite renewed speculation that fresh cuts were warranted. Money market rates had eased back 1/2-point initially, but firmed later to end about 1/4-point down on Wednesday.

The news from Downing Street caught share traders on the hop and shook the market out of a period of lethargy following an 80-point rise in the FTSE-100 index, prices surged. By mid-morning the index was 34.4 higher but prices boiled over as it emerged that there would be three contestants in the second ballot. By the close, the FTSE 100 index was just 1.6 up at 2,127.9.

Government securities took their lead from the stronger pound and finished sporting gains of more than 1/2% at the longer end as hopes grew of an

early cut in interest rates from the new cabinet.

Electricity shares, quoted on the unofficial "grey market" operated by IG Index, the financial bookmaker, moved up sharply, partly on the back of overnight press comment on investment prospects for the distributors, which has been heavily favourable. Analysts feel that Mrs Thatcher's departure removes some of the uncertainty which it had been feared would cloud the issue. The contest will be over long before December 5 when investors' cheques must be received.

Those close to the float were "quite relaxed" about the situation, one source said. The government does retain the option of cancelling the float if the markets take a severe pounding and the issue looks like being a flop.

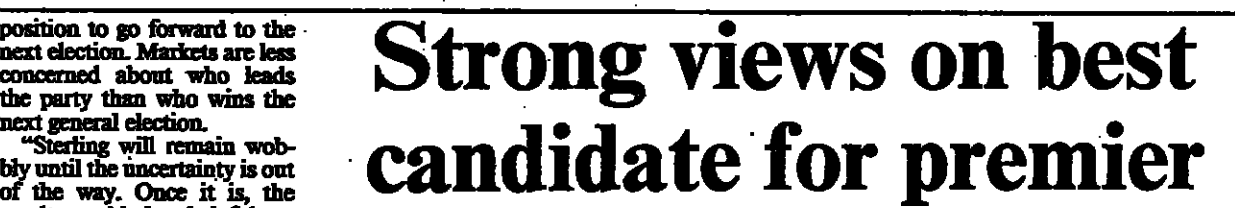
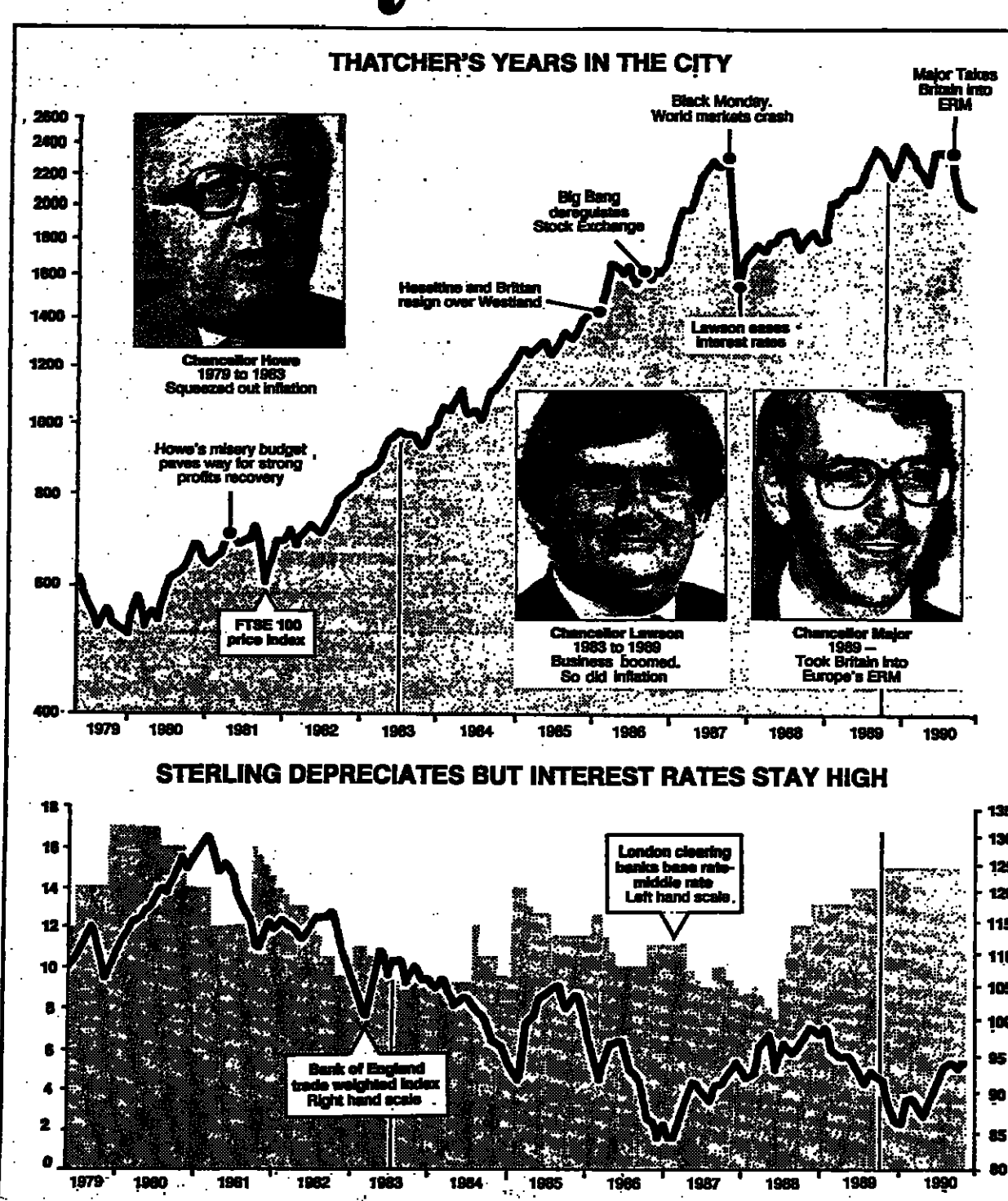
Chris Rowland, electricity analyst at Barclays de Zoete Wedd, said: "All this uncertainty is going to be history by the time people apply for shares."

There was intense speculation in the City over the likely effect of the leadership battle. Financial markets generally favour Michael Heseltine as prime minister because he is seen as more likely to win the next general election than John Major or Douglas Hurd. Foreign exchange dealers abroad are seen as being more sympathetic to sterling once the party election is over, partly because all three candidates are more sympathetic towards sterling's further integration with other European currencies and partly because of the effects on opinion polls.

Interest rates are still expected to fall again next month on the back of falling money supply and inflation figures, but there is disagreement among City commentators on whether the change of leadership will put off or bring them forward.

Keith Skeoch, economist at James Capel, said there had been a sign of relief in the markets because fears of a sterling collapse and Mrs Thatcher's resignation on to a general election defeat had been removed.

Mark Brett, currency strategist at BZW, said that markets were more concerned about how the situation is resolved than who wins. "It matters that the Tory party ends up united and in a good



Strong views on best candidate for premier

By PHILIP BASSETT, INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

Comment, page 27

"I LOOK at running the cabinet like running a business. You have to have someone who can run it. Michael Heseltine has got that. You have got two good men here. If it were my company, I would want to promote someone who was doing the job now. I would not want to bring in somebody who had resigned five years ago."

Few company leaders yesterday were as outspoken as Lord Hanson in their views about what industry and business wants to see from a new prime minister. Fewer still were so clear about who ought to do the job, with many unprepared to give open support to Douglas Hurd and John Major.

"If they want to lose the election, they should pick Hurd; they might as well just bring back Alec Douglas-Home," said the chief executive of a Midlands company. He added: "John Major looks like someone on the 7.15 to Waterloo. Heseltine is the leader for business."

What industry, in general, wants to see is a strong economy and a political framework which will allow business to flourish: what it most wants, then, is a leader whose philosophy is most closely in line with that of Margaret Thatcher.

That need for stability lay behind the call by senior business figures in a letter this week to *The Times* which urged the Conservative party to support her. One of the signatories, Sir Evelyn de Rothschild, chairman of NM Rothschild's, crystallised the view yesterday after Mrs Thatcher's resignation. He said: "Today's events high-

light the need for stability and the maintenance of the consistent economic policies of Mrs Thatcher's government which have so helped industry and commerce to flourish over the past decade."

"It is essential that the uncertainty is ended as soon as possible so that ministers can again devote all their energy to restoring the health of our economy and businessmen can plan for the future in a stable market place."

In immediate terms, what industry would like to see is a continuation of the attack on inflation and a cut in interest rates. Beyond that, objectives are less pointed, but include an end to divisiveness over Europe. Many industrialists stressed yesterday how vital a part of their businesses Europe formed and how damaging had been the government's division over it.

Tory governments are supposed to be favourable to business, but many company leaders yesterday looked for closer relationships with government. None wanted a return to the corporatist, consensualist days of the 1970s, but they want a government which is more aware of industry's needs.

They want a government that knows what the impact of a decision would be on business and that takes it into account before pursuing a policy. The damage done by interest rates is cited as the most recent example.

Mr Major was largely seen as sound, and tough enough. Mr Hurd was more of an unknown quantity, admired for his statesmanship. Mr Heseltine drew the widest responses. Some saw his es-

pousal of industrial interventionism as indicative that he would listen to business. Another said: "Anyone who thinks Michael Heseltine would be less dictatorial than Margaret Thatcher wants their brains tested."

SUMMARY

Trade deficit above forecasts at £1.18bn

BRITAIN'S trade gap widened again in October to £1.18 billion from £1.13 billion the previous month, although the underlying improvement continued. While bigger than the exceptionally low September figure, the October deficit was only slightly above City expectations and was the second smallest this year.

The Central Statistical Office data showed falls in the surplus on the oil balance and on erratic items, such as aircraft, ships, gems and silver, as the main factors behind the wider deficit. As "invisibles", such as insurance and banking, are still estimated to be in balance, the current account deficit was again the same as the deficit on visible trade in October. Underlying movement continued to reflect the effect of the economic slowdown in braking import growth and forcing British industry to turn increasingly to export markets. In the three months to October, the trade deficit eased to £3.09 billion from £4.85 billion in the previous three months.

Building societies attracted almost £1 billion from savers last month, the highest total since April last year. The £992 million net receipts was £136 million higher than in September. Lending also increased during the month. Net new commitments rose by £500 million to £3,517 million and gross advances increased by £400 million to £3,681 million.

Gas hoists Governor fears split

BRITISH Gas reinforced its attraction as a defensive stock in times of economic and political uncertainty with a 17.2 per cent increase in its interim dividend to 3.75p. The shares rose 6 1/2 p to 236p.

Bob Evans, the chairman, said the rise reflected the company's belief that the strength of its prospects would allow steady payout increases for the foreseeable future. The announcement accompanied better than expected results for the half to end-September. Historic cost pre-tax profits rose £22 million to £24 million, on turnover 7.3 per cent higher at £2.95 billion.

No Davy dividend and £45m provision

DAVY Corporation, the engineering contractor, has turned in an extraordinary £45 million provision to cover a fixed-price North Sea rig contract that was delayed and withdrawal from the modules business, in addition to interim pre-tax profits down to £8.42 million (£11.1 million) to end-September. There is no interim dividend (2.75p).

The provision mostly relates to an oil rig for Midland & Scottish Resources, that involved technology Davy was unfamiliar with. Such work would not be sought again. Davy is also in dispute over work done at Exxon's Fawley oil refinery near Southampton. A provision for this was taken into the pre-tax profits. The company's order book, on a like-for-like basis, was up 10 per cent since the financial year-end. Davy is reported to have problems at other contracts, in particular at a rolling mill on Teesside for British Steel and a defence contract at Barrow-in-Furness. *Tempus*, page 27

Rothmans at £242m

ROTHMANS International, the tobacco and luxury goods group, reported pre-tax profits of £242.6 million (£224.1 million) for the six months ended September. The interim dividend rose from 6.2p to 6.5p. There was an £8 million loss on the withdrawal from confectionery distribution in Australia. Tobacco operating margins eased from 17 per cent to 16.4 per cent. *Tempus*, page 27

THE POUND

US dollar 1.9698 (+0.0013)
German mark 2.9123 (-0.0035)
Exchange index 94.2 (+0.2)

STOCK MARKET

FT 30 Share 1672.2 (-3.8)
FT-SE 100 2127.9 (+1.6)
New York Dow Jones Closed
Tokyo Nikkei Avge 23400.28 (+583.29)

CLOSING PRICES ... Page 29

INTEREST RATES

London: Bank Base: 14%
3-month Interbank 13 1/2-13 3/4%
6-month eligible bills 13 1/2-13 3/4%
US: Prime Rate 10%
Federal Funds n/y 7 1/2%
3-month Treasury Bill n/y 7 1/2%
Saver bonds 10 1/2%

CURRENCIES

London: New York
£: \$1.9698
DM: £2.9123
Sfr: £2.4839
¥: £160.8979
C: ¥125.00
Index 94.2
ECU £0.702813
ECU £1.422853

GOLD

London: Fixing:
AM \$380.20 pm \$380.00
close \$380.00-380.50 (£192.75-193.25)
New York:
Comex \$/oz

NORTH SEA OIL

Brent (Jan) ... \$30.00 bbl (\$29.50)
* Denotes latest trading price
† Denotes market closed

TOURIST RATES

	Bank	Bank
	Buy	Sell
Australia \$	2.45	2.46
Austria S	21.45	21.15
Belgium F	63.05	63.05
Canada C	11.89	11.89
Denmark K	7.36	6.83
Finland Mk	10.24	9.54
France F	8.05	2.98
Germany Dm	3.18	2.89
Greece Dr	15.63	15.63
Hong Kong S	1.14	1.07
Ireland P	2.90	2.95
Italy L	200.75	200.75
Japan Yen	3.425	3.225
Norway Kr	11.89	11.19
Portugal Esc	5.00	4.50
Spain Ptas	166.36	166.36
Sweden Kr	11.82	10.74
Switzerland F	2.27	2.41
Switzerland F	57.90	57.90
Switzerland F	2.05	1.95
USA \$	2.00	2.00
Yugoslavia Dr	25.00	21.00

Notes for small denomination bank only as supplied by Barclays Bank PLC. Different rates apply to travellers' cheques.
Retail Price Index: 198.3 (October)

Higher rate loan relief threatened

By LINDSAY COOK, MONEY EDITOR

THE future of higher-rate mortgage tax relief could be in jeopardy, according to building society chiefs. Mrs Thatcher was the strongest supporter in the cabinet of the tax subsidy on home ownership and a lonely defender of the higher-rate relief.

Now lenders, who had been hoping for a rise in the £30,000 tax relief ceiling in next year's Budget, are expecting the move to wither on the vine and for the tax relief to be limited to the basic rate of tax.

John Bayliss, Abbey National's managing director, retail operations, said: "She has kept the higher-rate tax relief against a lot of opposition. I have always thought that higher-rate relief would have disappeared without her. This could be the first move. It would be populist. The £30,000 limit will stay and every year that goes by it will be worth less."

John Hutchinson, Nationwide Building Society's retail operations director, said of the higher rate tax relief, "of all the features of mortgage tax relief it would be the first to go. I don't think it would be terribly clever ahead of the election but it is hanging there waiting to be dealt with."

Mark Boleat, director general of the Building Societies Association, said: "Margaret Thatcher has been the stain-

chest supporter of mortgage tax relief. Her departure must make less likely an increase in the threshold limit."

The estimated cost of mortgage tax relief in 1989-90 is £6.9 billion, shared by 9.3 million households. The ceiling was raised from £25,000 to £30,000 in 1983. Over the past 11 years, the average house price has tripled from £21,000 to £66,000 and gross building society lending has more than quadrupled from £9 billion a year to £44 billion.

Lenders are hopeful of a bank base rate cut in December followed by a mortgage reduction from January 1. Mr Boleat said: "I am still hopeful of a cut before the end of the year." In December, the inflation figure should be down to single figures as one mortgage rate rise leaves the calculation and the November reduction is included.

Eight of the 13 largest building societies operate an annual review scheme for mortgages with most fixing their payments for 1991 in December. Halifax Building Society, the largest lender, said: "We would like to see a further 1 per cent fall in base rates by the turn of the year, so that the benefit of lower mortgage rates can be passed on to those 1.2 million Halifax borrowers who are on our annual review budget plan."

Regimental ties and elocution lessons

By JON ASHWORTH AND NEIL BENNETT

THE City headed for the nearest wine bar. Emotions were running high and opinions flew thick and fast.

"It was just like ERM," said a dealer from James Capel, who joined colleagues for a beer and a sandwich at Conroy & Barrow on Old Broad Street. "Prices shot up when we heard the news, but there was no volume, and they came right down again."

Down the road at the Greenhouse, the champagne and oyster bar, two Liffe traders were mulling over a bottle of Bollinger Special Cuvée. "I think it's very sad that she had to go in this way,"

said Ian Richard of ICE. "For the first ten seconds we thought it was bad news, then prices rallied. We've made a little bit of money at somebody's expense."

Patrons at the Pavilion on Finsbury Circus were more bullish. "At least it has cleared the way," said Alan Thetford of Trafalgar Securities.

City characters are completely divided on their opinions of Mrs Thatcher, and the new candidates. "I think it's a crying shame she's left," said one analyst from Barclays de Zoete Wedd. "But there are some people on the floor who think Heseltine has all the answers."

The staff at Morgan Grenfell, however, have reason to be concerned at the

political clout of Michael Heseltine. The merchant bank advised Sikorsky in its bid for control of Westland four years ago. Mr Heseltine's support for the rival European consortium led to his resignation as defence secretary and his walk-out from the cabinet.

"The thing that has really put us off though," said one Morgan corporate financier, "is the suggestion that he took elocution lessons at Oxford. It's not the sort of thing you should do."

Another said it was about time Mr Heseltine stopped wearing a Guards tie, considering he was in his regiment for less than six months. Then it was back to business, or lack of it, as usual.

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Banks plan Euro-court step on swaps

By Neil Bennett, Banking Correspondent

A GROUP of foreign banks is planning to take the London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham to the European Court of Justice if, as expected, they lose their case over interest rate swap contracts in the House of Lords next month.

A senior European banker confirmed that he and others are looking at what legal action they can take against local authorities to recover the millions they have lost on the transactions. This could include an appeal to the European court.

He also said that London's credibility as a financial centre could be damaged irreparably. He said: "This is what used to be considered a scandal. A third party of good faith are going to be left with the losses."

"This is a landmark case. One in five of Britain's local authorities are going to be forgiven a whole group of contracts. This has never happened in the whole of Europe."

"The London model of financial markets is being challenged in the courts and destroyed in the House of Lords. This means we can no

longer deal with a non-financial entity without the gravest financial risk."

More than 70 banks stand to lose an estimated £750 million if it is ruled that local authorities entered into swap transactions illegally. Seventy-seven of Britain's 430 authorities used swaps from 1982.

The Lords published a provisional ruling this month in a case between the district auditor and Hammersmith & Fulham that the council's swap contracts were beyond their powers and therefore void.

This overturned a Court of Appeal judgment that they could be used in certain circumstances. The Lords' final judgment will be published in two weeks.

Swaps are a complex financial transaction which allowed authorities to exchange their cheap, fixed-rate debt from the Public Works Loan Board, for commercial floating rate debt.

When interest rates fell, the councils profited from the move, but when they started rising in 1988, many were left facing heavy losses, and renegotiated their payments.

Powell Duffryn falls 8%

By Jonathan Pryor

HIGHER interest charges have reduced interim pre-tax profits at Powell Duffryn, the diversified industrial group, by 8 per cent to £12.1 million for the six months to end-September.

Profits before interest and tax were almost unchanged at £16.8 million but were hit by an increased £4.7 million interest bill. The interim dividend was unchanged at 6.6p.

David Hubbard, the chairman, said that the maintained trading performance at a time of approaching recession "emphasises the stability we gain from our spread of interests, particularly in adverse economic conditions."

Of the group's business activities, fuel distribution had the most successful first half with trading profits up 292 per cent at £1.8 million, buoyed by last summer's oil price surge. The coal distribution businesses, which were put up for sale in June, have now been withdrawn from the market because of failure to achieve acceptable terms.

Profits from shipping fell 46 per cent to £2.4 million, though Mr Hubbard said there were indications that lost ground can be made up this winter as fleet sailing patterns were improving. Bulk liquid storage improved 35 per cent to £2.6 million. Negotiations over a liquid storage venture with Dutch chemicals group Pakhoed were progressing said Mr Hubbard.



Looking to make up lost ground: David Hubbard

Royal Bank confirms Younger as chairman

By Our Banking Correspondent

GEORGE Younger, the former defence secretary, has been confirmed as the chairman of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group.

Mr Younger, already chairman of the banking subsidiary, will replace Sir Michael Herries as group chairman in January. On Wednesday, Mr Younger was replaced by John Wakeham, the energy secretary, as Mrs Thatcher's campaign manager, after her failure to win the first election ballot.

Mr Younger's appointment is part of a reorganisation at the bank, which will create six divisions and a separate finance department. Charles Winter, chief executive, and George Mathewson, his deputy, will hold the power at the centre.

The divisions are branch banking, corporate banking, financial services, Charterhouse (the merchant bank), Citizens Financial in America, and property and personnel. Kenneth Thompson, the finance director, will head the finance department.

The reorganisation means the departure of Lewis McGill, the UK banking director, and the retirement of Robert Maiden, the managing director.

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

Morland at £6.1m as property sales fall

MORLAND & Co, the Oxfordshire brewery, saw pre-tax profits slip from £6.62 million to £6.12 million in the year to end-September, after substantially lower property sales. Turnover advanced from £25.2 million to £28.4 million. Operating profits increased from £4.04 million to £4.71 million, but the surplus on property disposals fell from £2.37 million to £1.14 million. Taxation increased from £1.33 million to £1.56 million.

Earnings per share slipped from 31.7p to 27.6p, although earnings rose from 17.5p to 20.8p, excluding the surplus on property disposals. The final dividend was increased to 4.48p (3.55p), making a total of 6.45p (5.125p). The shares held steady at 26 1/2p.

Profits slip at Ferry group

FERRY Pickering Group, the Leicestershire printing and packaging group, reports a fall in pre-tax profits from £2.83 million to £2.34 million in the year to end-September, after higher interest charges. Turnover increased from £23.3 million to £29 million. Earnings per share slipped from 15.37p to 12.25p, but the final dividend is maintained at 3.1p, making an unchanged total of 5.2p.

Hardy Oil drops 38%

INTEREST charges incurred on debt taken on during and after the demerger from Trafalgar House last year have left interim pre-tax profits at Hardy Oil & Gas down 38 per cent at £1.8 million. Debt levels have been cut and turnover for the six months to end-September rose 9 per cent to £14 million. There is no interim dividend, in line with stated policy.

Voilex profits fall 23%

VOLEX Group, the electrical components manufacturer and supplier, had a 23 per cent fall in interim pre-tax profits to £3.3 million (£4.3 million) to end-September.

Turnover was almost unchanged at £50.1 million, with all divisions in profit. The shortfall was caused mainly by problems at Voilex Wiring Systems, which suffered from delayed launches of car models. Three big subsidiaries increased profits. Gearing fell to 7 per cent compared with 14 per cent at the start of the year. No upturn in demand is expected in the second half. The interim 6.5p dividend is unchanged.

Sims Food results slip

LAST summer's cattle disease scares and higher interest costs have lowered interim profits at Sims Food Group, the fresh meat and meat products group. Pre-tax profits fell from £3.3 million to £2.61 million in the six months to end-September. Earnings per share fell from 9.5p to 6.5p, but the interim dividend is maintained at 2.64p. The shares lost 8p to 205p.

Profit slips at PR Group

CITY of London PR Group's interim dividend rises from 0.95p to 1.04p although pre-tax profit in the six months ended September 30 fell from £470,000 to £344,000. The setback follows tough business conditions in Australia and Britain. The group's cash holding of £3 million equates to nearly 40p a share. The shares traded at 33p yesterday.

Whesoe ahead 36%

PRE-TAX profits at Whesoe, the pipework fabricator and engineer, advanced by 36 per cent to £6.51 million in the year to September 29. Turnover fell from £38.4 million to £47.2 million reflecting a move away from heavy engineering and offshore construction. Earnings per share climbed from 17.5p to 22.8p.

The final dividend is raised to 4.5p (3.75p), making an improved total of 6.25p (5p) for the year. Chris Fleetwood, chief executive, said the current order book was worth about £70 million. Whesoe shares rose 12p to 136p.

Public shuns issue by Brent Walker

By MARTIN WALLER

THE £103 million convertible bond issue by Brent Walker, the leisure and property group, has been shunned by the company's outside shareholders, who have chosen to take up less than half of one per cent of the issue.

The news initially rocked the company's shares, with the price falling from 111p to 75p at one stage before recovering to 98p on more mature consideration.

The convertible issue had never been expected to be a success with its shareholders, particularly after the company itself was required by International Stock Exchange rules to warn them away.

Its effect has been to bring five additional significant investors into the company, holding bonds which convert at 140p, while boosting the stake of George Walker, the chairman, through Birdcage Walk, his private investment company.

The bond issue was one of two lifelines needed in recent weeks to ensure the continued survival of the debt-crippled group. Just a week ago Brent Walker reached a long-overdue agreement with its banks over the rescheduling of its £1.4 billion borrowings, of which £128 million had to be repaid over the next 12 months.

The banks made the raising of the money, to provide additional working capital, through the bond issue, a condition of the refinancing.

When the long-delayed listing particulars of the issue finally appeared at the end of last month, the company was forced to include an unpre-



Walker: putting up £27m denoted recommendation to shareholders that they should not take up their rights until they were told the new banking arrangements were in place.

In the event just 254 valid applications, for bonds worth a little more than £500,000, were received for the £103 million issue. Birdcage Walk has agreed to take £27 million of the issue.

The other placers, who effectively underwrote it and will now take up almost all of the rest, are Jefferson Smurfit, the Irish packaging company; Citinest, a Bahamas investment trust; MMG Paricoff & Co, the venture capital outfit; Hambro Group Investments; and Tunis International Bank.

Brent Walker said yesterday that the date when Birdcage Walk had to find the money had been "deferred" by eight days until November 27.

A spokesman said the statement had been made for reasons of clarification, and there had never been any intention for the investment company to pay the money before that date.

Broker 'insolvent'

By ANGELA MACKAY

THE Association of Futures Brokers and Dealers has taken action to prevent Anglo American Futures, an introductory broker, from conducting business after describing the firm as insolvent.

An application was also made by one of the company's bankers to place AAF into liquidation. AAF has two directors, Luis Sarmiento and Roman Sternberg.

Dan Simon, the head of enforcement at the associ-

ation, said fewer than 20 investors were affected. AAF's liabilities are estimated to be about £800,000.

The association said AAF provided it with "inaccurate information and is a breach of AAFB rules relating to record keeping, financial resources, and reporting".

The association's intervention stops AAF from disposing or transferring client's assets without consent of the association's chairman.

British Gas Interim Results

SOUND PERFORMANCE WITH CONTINUED INVESTMENT IN BRITAIN AND OVERSEAS.

British Gas has published its interim report for the six months ended 30 September 1990. In the report, British Gas Chairman and Chief Executive Robert Evans CBE writes:

"I am pleased to announce on behalf of British Gas the results for the first half of the 1990/91 financial year. Principal features of the Company's activities and performance include:

- The Company earns most of its profits in the second half of the financial year. Consequently, results for the first half are not indicative of the year as a whole. On a CCA basis there was a loss after taxation of £100M, £16M less than last year. On an HCA basis there was an after-tax profit of £24M, an improvement of £22M.

- Turnover from gas sales increased by 6.7%.
- Higher turnover in the tariff market included the impact of underlying growth in volumes of the order of 2% to 3%.

- A small decline of 3% in contract gas volumes reflected particularly competitive oil prices during the greater part of the period.

- Gas supply costs increased by 6.8% over the corresponding period last year due to increases in the cost of gas purchased and the effect of inflation on other costs.

- 82,000 gas customers were added.

- The Gas supply CCA operating loss increased by £15M to £157M while the operating profit on Exploration and Production increased by £47M to £73M.

- Good progress was made in developing the international business of the Company. In addition to continuing development of the overseas exploration and production interests, final approval was given recently by the Canadian authorities for the proposed acquisition (approximate cost of Cdn\$1.14 billion) of The Consumers' Gas Company Ltd., of Canada, the country's major gas distribution utility.

- Capital expenditure during the six months was £392M of which £342M was spent in Britain.

- Following the re-organisation of the Company into three business units, implementation of the new Regional district structure is under way. This will bring the Company closer to its customers and will

enable the Company to respond more effectively to changes in the market place.

The Directors are declaring an interim dividend of 3.75p per share, an increase of 17.2% over the corresponding period last year. This reflects last year's decision to increase the payout ratio and the Directors' confidence in the continuing development of the Company.

The interim dividend of 3.75p net per ordinary share will be paid on 27 March 1991 to shareholders on the register at the close of business on 15 February 1991."

Copies of the interim report are available from: British Gas plc, Shareholder Enquiry Office, 100 Rochester Row, London SW1P 1JP. Tel: 071-834 2000.

BRITISH GAS plc UNAUDITED RESULTS FOR THE SIX MONTHS ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 1990

Extracts from Group Profit and Loss Account

	SIX MONTHS ENDED 30 SEPT 1990	1 OCT 1989
	£M	£M
Turnover	2,955	2,754
Current cost operating loss	(51)	(87)
Net Interest and gearing adjustment	(37)	(25)
Current cost loss before taxation	(88)	(112)
Taxation	(12)	(2)
Current cost loss after taxation	(100)	(114)
Minority shareholders' interest	-	(2)
Loss attributable to British Gas shareholders	(100)	(116)
Loss per ordinary share	(2.3p)	(2.7p)
Interim Dividend	160	136
Interim Dividend per ordinary share	3.75p	3.2p

1. The unaudited interim accounts for the six months ended 30 September 1990 have been prepared on the basis of the accounting policies as set out in the Annual Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 1990.

2. On an historical cost basis the profit before taxation for the six months ended 30 September 1990 and 1 October 1989 was £36 million and £6 million respectively.

3. Taxation for the six months ended 30 September 1990 has been provided on the basis of the estimated effective tax rate for the year ended 31 March 1991.

British Gas

مركز الاستثمار

The lost legacy of Thatcherism

COMMENT

DAVID BREWERTON

The City has done remarkably well during the Thatcher years. It could have done even better, but squandered its chances on extravagant offices, ludicrous salaries, gross overmanning and sheer incompetence. Under the "sound money" doctrine, the City was relieved of the obligation to push more and more of its cash into funding government debt. Instead, it was presented with billions of new shares to sell to new customers, accompanied by marketing campaigns paid for by the taxpayer.

Wider share ownership was a centrepiece of Thatcherism; the share-owning democracy and the home-owning proletariat were built into the grand design as bastions against Socialism. But in the 15 years since Mrs Thatcher gained the leadership of her party, the trend has been in the wrong direction. In 1975 private shareholders owned 37½ per cent of British equities. Further back, the figure was overwhelming. In 1957, individuals owned no less than 66 per cent of equities.

But, despite the emphasis on

the creation of wealth, the right of individuals to hold on to the money they earned, the progressive easing of taxation on both capital gains and investment income, individuals now hold a smaller proportion of equities than ever before. The proportion has shrunk to below 20 per cent, and there is no reason to suppose that the trend will be reversed. In part, it is fair to say that successive Conservative budgets have failed to tackle the tax imbalances that tend to push savings towards the great investment institutions rather than into direct portfolio investment. Personal equity plans were introduced in 1987 to widen share ownership but three out of four investors in Peps previously held shares, and Unit Trust Association figures showed that nearly half of the £750 million invested in Peps in 1989 was through unit trusts.

Some comfort can be found in the fact that the number of

private shareholders has almost quadrupled since 1980 to 11 million. Next month will see a further jump when dealing begins in the shares of the 12 regional electricity companies. Seven-and-a-half million people have registered so far for the privatisation, and it is no accident that John Wakeham, who sold electricity to the City, was earmarked to head Mrs Thatcher's leadership campaign until she decided to step down. But at present some 6.5 million private shareholders have holdings in only one company, and at the last count only 0.3 million held shares in 11 or more companies.

Big Bang, brought upon the City as a consequence of a

challenge to restrictive practices in stockbroking, failed the private investor and, in a sense, failed the prime minister. It failed to deliver the right service at the affordable price and, as the conglomerate investment houses tried to cover the ever higher costs of their own mistakes with increased commission charges, the private investor was left to sit on the sidelines watching the prices of British Gas, British Telecom and the water companies.

Mrs Thatcher's reward from the City, after 11 years of more or less continuous bull market, after feeding the market with a regular supply of new issues, underwriting fees and, most important of all, new potential customers

for share dealing services, was to see share prices marked up because she was leaving office. By 9.44am yesterday, as the news of her decision echoed through the dealing rooms of London, the FT-SE index was more than 35 points up on the level of an hour earlier. Sterling strengthened markedly against the dollar, which was having a Thanksgiving rest day, and the mark.

But there was worse to come as the morning wore on. Word went round that base rates were to be cut and the Bank of England was forced to send the smoke up the chimney to assure the waiting financial world that no changes were contemplated. Given the degree of uncertainty that Mrs Thatcher's resignation has done nothing to resolve, rumours of a rise in base rates might have been more likely.

But markets have little logic and no heart, especially now they have moved from being collections of individuals trading face

to face to clones of Essex man trading on the screens.

Markets are not in the business, however, of thanks, even if they are in the business of sentiment, and the reality behind the upwards kick in equities is that her decision to stand aside increases the likelihood of a further term of Conservative government. Labour, for all its changes of direction, and its softening at the edges, would still be seen as an unwelcome intrusion into a system of society that revolves round the making of money. If Thatcherism, whatever that may be, has to continue without its chief architect, that is better in market eyes than the alternatives.

Mrs Thatcher's departure is in keeping with the institutional preoccupation that the roles of chairman and chief executive should not be combined, and what is good enough for Sir Ralph Halpern and others is good enough for her.

And if I loved you Wednesday, Well, what is that to you? I do not love you Thursday — So much is true.

Economic problems ahead, whoever follows her

THE financial markets had a merry time of dancing on the political grave of Margaret Thatcher yesterday. In comparison with the new records for treachery and ingratitude set by the Conservative backbenchers, the City's selfish behaviour might scarcely have been worth noting, were it not for one unsettling fact. Financial markets frequently turn out to be precisely wrong in their initial reactions to sudden political changes. The political demise of Margaret Thatcher could be another case in point.

The initial delight about Mrs Thatcher's resignation, particularly in the foreign exchange markets, was based on at least four observations. First and foremost, the Conservative party is more likely to win the next general election without Mrs Thatcher. Of course, it remains to be seen whether Douglas Hurd and John Major can inspire the same enthusiasm among voters as Michael Heseltine, who is the City's favourite for this reason at present.

Second, the new contenders for prime minister will be genuinely committed to European monetary integration. This will make them unlikely to countenance a devaluation of the pound or any other shenanigans which bend the rules of the ERM. The next possible move towards monetary union, a move into the 24 per cent ERM band, could come as soon as next month, around the time of the Intergovernmental Conference in Rome. The markets would doubtless be impressed enough to allow a point off interest rates.

The third reason for optimism is that control of economic policy will shift increasingly from politicians into the more reliable hands of central bankers and Treasury civil servants. All three contenders would probably agree to the



Whose hand on economic policy, and how will he turn the key in months to come?

new statutes for a European central bank drafted by the Bundesbank. Jim O'Neill, chief economist at Swiss Bank Corp, said: "The City is now a suburb of Frankfurt."

The last cause of relief is that a general election can now be postponed until the middle of 1992. The new prime minister will not have to worry about internal party pressures.

Financial markets frequently turn out to be wrong in their initial reactions

Mrs Thatcher would have had to revive the party's fortunes, and hence the economy, by next summer at the latest, or possibly face another leadership challenge. Now a revival is less urgent. This gives the new government more leeway. It could, for instance, hold off on interest rate cuts until the spring and rely on a fiscal giveaway in the next Budget to stimulate the economy for 1992.

What all these arguments point to is a period of cautious economic policy in the

months ahead. And that, of course, is precisely what the City would welcome. This case for stability seems to leave one crucial point out of account. Mrs Thatcher has been rejected by her party because she is electorally unpopular. But why is she so unpopular? Is it really because of her stance on Europe, which most of the country seems to

stand up to electoral pressures than Margaret Thatcher? Is any of these three gentlemen a more plausible fighter against inflation or the demands for more government spending? Which of them will have the courage to raise income taxes or reintroduce the rates to pay for the abolition of poll tax, when there is an obvious alternative: simply to raise government borrowing? Will any of them be more convincing than Mrs Thatcher in their exhortations for lower pay settlements, without which the present ERM exchange rates will be unsustainable, even if they start speaking German at Threadneedle Street?

The fact is that managing the economy through the present recession and then winning the general election will be one of the toughest challenges the Tory party has ever faced. And who is the party's toughest leader? Is he called Hurd, Major or Heseltine?

ANATOLE KALETSKY
Economics Editor

THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Al-Fayed bows out

MOHAMED Al-Fayed, the chairman of Harrods, was guest of honour this week at an unusual fund-raising event — held in the comfortable surroundings of his own store. But he was reluctant to say too much at the event, held in the fashionable Terrace Bar on Wednesday evening. It signalled the start of a campaign to raise £1 million for the Karim Centre for Meningitis Research — named after Mr Al-Fayed's son, who contracted the disease as a baby. Karim, now aged seven, was treated by Dr David Harvey, one of Britain's top consultant paediatricians, who later approached Mr Al-Fayed with the idea of funding a new centre. He agreed to an initial £100,000 donation, and went on to contribute several thousand pounds more. Five years on, he has told the centre based at the Queen Charlotte's and Chelsea Hospital — that it must seek funds elsewhere. To the surprise of guests, Mr Al-Fayed declined to make a speech, although he lingered for nearly an hour and a half. His mind may, indeed, have been on events in Westminster which threaten to open old wounds over the House of Fraser affair.

Brecon beckons

IF TRADERS in Tokyo laugh hysterically the next time share prices go through the floor, do not be alarmed. For

they may have been indulging in Japan's insatiable appetite for whisky — not, as one would expect, shipped from Scotland or Ireland, but brought in by the case from Wales. Ten-year-old Welsh malt, a favourite of the Prince of Wales, has become popular in Tokyo clubs and boardrooms where its appetising slogan — "Welsh whisky gives the loins with fire" — has proved true to the last sip. Now the Welsh Whisky company of Brecon is branching out. "We are having to build a new distillery to cope with the demand," says Dafydd Gittins, the chairman, who worked for Lufthansa in Hong Kong before returning to set up the company in 1974. Credit for the success goes to Peter Walker, the former Welsh Office minister. For he once took some whisky-filled silver flasks on a trip to Japan and presented them to politicians and company chairmen including, as luck would have it, an importer of liquor.

GRAFFITO in King's Road, Chelsea: "The ends justify the means."

All in a day's work

STOCKBROKERS turn their hands to many things in the course of duty. And few are up to the task better than Hoare Govett, which romped home to victory in the Supermarkets Lord Mayor's festival. Teams from seven City houses, including National Westminster Bank, Charterhouse and BP Finance, competed in five

events, including an investment game in which they were "given" £500,000 to invest over a three-week period. Faring best by making a profit of £52,000 against a falling market — was the trio from Hoare Govett led by Geoff Houston, head of UK equity sales. "Some of the top quality fund managers did not do too well," says Houston, who was helped by Nigel Hughes, head of market-making, and salesman Tim Turnbull. He later tried his luck in the wine-tasting event, with less success. The reward for their efforts, a glass vase, was proudly installed on the firm's dealing floor. But it had to be removed after market-makers — ever keen for a laugh — filled it with goldfish.

THE commerce department in America has just revealed that the country's population spends an average 1.2 billion hours a week talking on the telephone. That is the equivalent of 50 million days, or 1,800 human lifetimes.

Sachs appeal

LLOYD'S underwriters may now be paying more attention to their dress sense — thanks to recent comments in this column — but they still have a lot of catching up to do. For a trader from Goldman Sachs, the American investment house, obviously keen on looking fresh all day, has just set a record with Shirt Point, the City laundry company, by sending in a batch of 60 shirts to be washed. The previous

record was set in June 1989 by a broker from James Capel who submitted 45 shirts at one time. "We are sending a bottle of Pol Roger champagne back with the laundry," says William Holt of Shirt Point who — perhaps fearing a slump in business — was not revealing any names. But the shirts — all white Sea Island cotton — will have cost their stylish owner about £6,000, since Thomas Pink and other top shirt makers sell them for £105 each. Shirt Point is also doing a brisk trade in Christmas gift vouchers — a tactful way perhaps, of reminding bosses or colleagues that their shirts are due for a wash.

Smiling through

PUBLIC relations folk, like boy scouts, learn to smile and whistle under all sorts of difficult circumstances — an art neatly demonstrated yesterday by John Greenhalgh, chairman of City of London PR Group. In reporting a 27 per cent drop in the company's interim pre-tax profits to £344,000 because of the recession in Australia and Britain, the group's main client base, Greenhalgh said: "Thanksgiving Day is an appropriate time for us to report. We are still in business while some are not. We have made profits while many in our sector have made losses." Clearly a man who knows on which side his bread is buttered, he added typically: "As a result, we are not the cold turkey on the table today."

JON ASHWORTH

Davy is for gamblers only

TEMPUS

EVEN by the present market's standards, Davy Corporation's abrupt fall from grace is staggering. The shares were 262p in June; they hit 60p at one point yesterday as the company unveiled a £40.2 million attributable loss and a dropped interim dividend.

Some £60 million of shareholders' money has been washed into the North Sea and lost, along with Roger Kingston, its former chief executive. Davy is in dispute with its client, Midland and Scottish Resources, for which it is building a rig.

Pre-tax profits of £8.42 million, down from £11.1 million, in the six months to end-September already contain hefty but undisclosed provisions against a dispute with another client, Exxon, over its Fawley refinery. Below the line, Davy took a further £45 million provision, mainly to cover losses on the £127 million Emerald contract, due to be completed in March, after year-end provisions of £25 million.

The first suggestions of

trouble at Emerald and Fawley had analysts asking what other horrors lurked within the order book and started the share price crash. Patrick McTigue, Davy's new chief executive, claims there are none, while saying the provisions so far represent the most prudent view.

But few believe Davy will claw much of its losses back from its clients in subsequent negotiations, and there remains the suspicion of more damage to come, although the shares managed a partial recovery to 73p, down 3p, yesterday. Spie Batignolles, the French group, which paid 240p a share for its 14.9 per cent stake, is less than pleased.

Given the uncertainty, forecasting this year's profits is a lottery. At £20 million pre-tax, the shares would be on a rating of a little more than 7, while a resumption of dividend payments at the year-end would leave them yielding just short of 9 per cent. Super-optimists might care to gamble on a French-inspired takeover;

sensible investors will steer clear for now.

Rothmans

ROTHMANS International is addicted to cash the way some people are addicted to tobacco. Net liquid funds, which at end-March stood at a handsome £702.4 million, have in the six months to September 30 risen to £708.3 million. But for currency movements, Rothmans would have been able to boast yet another £26 million in its kitty. Group earnings continue to rise, as does the dividend, which goes up from 6.2p to 6.8p a share for the interim period — though the payment remains well covered at 5.1 times.

Pre-tax profit for the six months ended September, at £242.6 million against £224.1 million, would have been £7 million higher but for unfavourable exchange rates. They reflect further operating advances within the basic tobacco interests and a £23 million rise in net interest income.

Tobacco operating margins should retrieve the setback from 17 per cent to 16.4 per cent as the benefits of investment expenditure bear fruit. While the Dunhill luxury goods subsidiary continues to buck generally dull consumer trends, so too does Carier Monde, the 47 per cent-owned associate, continue to strengthen.

Loss of tobacco markets in Kuwait and Iraq should be compensated for by inroads on the other side of the disintegrated Berlin wall, while July's purchase for a £75 million equivalent of Theodor Niemeier, the Dutch pipe and tobacco group, gives Rothmans yet another foothold in Europe.

The strength of the interim result has led to a modest upgrading of earlier year-end forecasts from £505 million to £515 million (£484.5 million seen in 1989-90), to put the shares at 704p on a 10.1 rating. The prospective yield of 3.2 per cent against BAT's 7 per cent makes the shares look expensive.

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TELEPHONE SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE

The Eurotunnel Rights Issue is now underway. If you wish to acquire new Eurotunnel shares, you could do so simply by telephoning the Eurotunnel ShareLink Service* on 0922 745 745. This service is open from 8.30 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. on weekdays until 26th November. The commission charged for each transaction, including handling all documentation for you, will be £10.

Existing shareholders could use this service to acquire new shares in addition to their entitlement under the Rights Issue. Alternatively you could buy new shares through your stockbroker, bank or other intermediary.

NEW TRAVEL PRIVILEGES

Depending on the level of your investment, starting with a minimum of 45 new shares, you may obtain new Eurotunnel Travel Privileges. If you wish, you may nominate another individual to have these privileges instead of you. Full details of the new Travel Privileges are contained in the prospectus.

Investment in the Eurotunnel Rights Issue should be made only on the basis of information contained in the prospectus. If you do not have a prospectus, telephone the Eurotunnel Share Information Line on 0800 300 393.



EUROTUNNEL SHARELINK*

0922 745 745

* Until 4.00 p.m. on 26 November. * This service will be provided by ShareLink Limited. ShareLink is an execution-only stockbroker and does not provide financial advice. It is a member of The Stock Exchange and The Securities Association. Investment in Eurotunnel involves a significant degree of risk. The value of shares and rights to subscribe for shares can go down as well as up. If you are considering investing in Eurotunnel, it is recommended that you consult an appropriate professional adviser. Issued by Eurotunnel P.L.C. and Eurotunnel S.A., and approved by Morgan Grenfell & Co. Limited, a member of The Securities Association, for the purpose of section 57 of the Financial Services Act 1986.

Portfolio PLATINUM

From your Portfolio Platinum card check your right share price movements on this page only. Add them up to give you your overall total and check this against the daily dividend figure. If it matches you have won outright or a share of the daily prize money stated. If you win, follow the claim procedure on the back of your card. Always have your card available when claiming. Game rules appear on the back of your card.

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
1	Sainsbury	Food	100
2	Woolley	Food	100
3	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
4	Sainsbury	Food	100
5	Woolley	Food	100
6	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
7	Sainsbury	Food	100
8	Woolley	Food	100
9	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
10	Sainsbury	Food	100
11	Woolley	Food	100
12	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
13	Sainsbury	Food	100
14	Woolley	Food	100
15	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
16	Sainsbury	Food	100
17	Woolley	Food	100
18	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
19	Sainsbury	Food	100
20	Woolley	Food	100
21	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
22	Sainsbury	Food	100
23	Woolley	Food	100
24	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
25	Sainsbury	Food	100
26	Woolley	Food	100
27	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
28	Sainsbury	Food	100
29	Woolley	Food	100
30	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
31	Sainsbury	Food	100
32	Woolley	Food	100
33	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
34	Sainsbury	Food	100
35	Woolley	Food	100
36	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
37	Sainsbury	Food	100
38	Woolley	Food	100
39	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
40	Sainsbury	Food	100
41	Woolley	Food	100
42	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
43	Sainsbury	Food	100
44	Woolley	Food	100
45	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
46	Sainsbury	Food	100
47	Woolley	Food	100
48	Chas. Nicholson	Food	100
49	Sainsbury	Food	100
50	Woolley	Food	100

Please take into account any minus signs

Weekly Dividend						
Please make a note of your daily totals for the weekly dividend of £4,000 in tomorrow's newspaper.						
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN

The £4,000 Portfolio Platinum prize was won yesterday by Mr Simon Collins, of Leeds.

BRITISH FUNDS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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SHORTS (Under Five Years)

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEARS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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OVER FIFTEEN YEARS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
-----	---------	-------	---------

UNDATED

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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INDEX-LINKED

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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ELECTRICALS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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DRAPERY, STORES

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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HOTELS, CATERERS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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INDUSTRIALS A-D

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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FINANCE, LAND

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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FOODS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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FINANCIAL TRUSTS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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CHEMICALS, PLASTICS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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BREWRIES

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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BUILDING, ROADS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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OVERSEAS TRADERS

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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PAPER, PRINT, ADVERTISING

No.	Company	Group	Cash in
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STOCK EXCHANGE PRICES

Volatile trading

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings began Monday. Dealings end December 7. Contango day December 10. Settlement day December 17.
Forward bargains are permitted on two previous business days.

Prices recorded are at market close. Changes are calculated on the previous day's close, but adjustments are made when a stock is ex-dividend. Where one price is quoted, it is a middle price. Changes, yields and price earnings ratios are based on middle prices. (an) denotes Alpha Stocks. (VOLUMES PAGE 28)

No.	Company	Price	Change	Yield	P/E
1	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
2	Woolley	100	0	0	0
3	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
4	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
5	Woolley	100	0	0	0
6	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
7	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
8	Woolley	100	0	0	0
9	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
10	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
11	Woolley	100	0	0	0
12	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
13	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
14	Woolley	100	0	0	0
15	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
16	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
17	Woolley	100	0	0	0
18	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
19	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
20	Woolley	100	0	0	0
21	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
22	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
23	Woolley	100	0	0	0
24	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
25	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
26	Woolley	100	0	0	0
27	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
28	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
29	Woolley	100	0	0	0
30	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
31	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
32	Woolley	100	0	0	0
33	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
34	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
35	Woolley	100	0	0	0
36	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
37	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
38	Woolley	100	0	0	0
39	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
40	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
41	Woolley	100	0	0	0
42	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
43	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
44	Woolley	100	0	0	0
45	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
46	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
47	Woolley	100	0	0	0
48	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
49	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
50	Woolley	100	0	0	0

No.	Company	Price	Change	Yield	P/E
1	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
2	Woolley	100	0	0	0
3	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
4	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
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6	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
7	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
8	Woolley	100	0	0	0
9	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
10	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
11	Woolley	100	0	0	0
12	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
13	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
14	Woolley	100	0	0	0
15	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
16	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
17	Woolley	100	0	0	0
18	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
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28	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
29	Woolley	100	0	0	0
30	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
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32	Woolley	100	0	0	0
33	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
34	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
35	Woolley	100	0	0	0
36	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
37	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
38	Woolley	100	0	0	0
39	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
40	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
41	Woolley	100	0	0	0
42	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
43	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
44	Woolley	100	0	0	0
45	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
46	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
47	Woolley	100	0	0	0
48	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
49	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
50	Woolley	100	0	0	0

No.	Company	Price	Change	Yield	P/E
1	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
2	Woolley	100	0	0	0
3	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
4	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
5	Woolley	100	0	0	0
6	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
7	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
8	Woolley	100	0	0	0
9	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
10	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
11	Woolley	100	0	0	0
12	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
13	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
14	Woolley	100	0	0	0
15	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
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23	Woolley	100	0	0	0
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25	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
26	Woolley	100	0	0	0
27	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
28	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
29	Woolley	100	0	0	0
30	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
31	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
32	Woolley	100	0	0	0
33	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
34	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
35	Woolley	100	0	0	0
36	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
37	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
38	Woolley	100	0	0	0
39	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
40	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
41	Woolley	100	0	0	0
42	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
43	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
44	Woolley	100	0	0	0
45	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
46	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
47	Woolley	100	0	0	0
48	Chas. Nicholson	100	0	0	0
49	Sainsbury	100	0	0	0
50	Woolley	100	0	0	0

No.	Company	Price	Chg	Yld	P/E
48	Wharfedale	47	-	4.6	8.2
49	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
50	Widnes (Aust)	100	-	4.0	8.4
51	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
52	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
53	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
54	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
55	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
56	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
57	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
58	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
59	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
60	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
61	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
62	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
63	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
64	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
65	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
66	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
67	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
68	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
69	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
70	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
71	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
72	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
73	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
74	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
75	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
76	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
77	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
78	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
79	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
80	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
81	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
82	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
83	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
84	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
85	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
86	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
87	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
88	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
89	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
90	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
91	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
92	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
93	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
94	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
95	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
96	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
97	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
98	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
99	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4
100	Widnes	100	-	4.0	8.4

INTERNATIONAL APPOINTMENTS

The NCAD is the only college in the Republic of Ireland offering degree courses in art and design. The following vacancies have arisen in the Faculties of Design & Fine Art:

Faculty of Design

Head of the Department of Fashion and Textiles D1
Lecturer in the Department of Visual Communication D2
Lecturer (Mentor) in the Department of Craft Design D3
18 months fixed term contract

Faculty of Fine Art

Head of Department of Painting F1

National College of Art and Design

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for these posts.

Coláiste Náisiúnta Ealaíne is Deartha

You should clearly indicate which positions you are interested in, quote the reference number and return the completed application form by 3 December 1990

The application forms, with details of the individual positions, can be obtained from the Personnel Office, National College of Art & Design 100 Thomas Street, Dublin 6. Telephone (01) 711377, fax (01) 711748

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Candidates should have a background in drafting and administering trusts, and related experience of corporate administration would be helpful: the work will range from trust matters and the incorporation and maintenance of offshore companies to trademark and yacht registration.

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**HOT Engineering GesmbH
Roseggerstr. 15
A-8700 Leoben
Austria**

Closing date is November 30, 1990.

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A world leader in design, manufacture and sale of cancer therapy equipment, has an immediate requirement for two:

SERVICE ENGINEERS - EUROPE

The ideal candidates will have an extensive electronics background, consisting of a minimum of 3-5 years experience in the installation, service and commissioning of C.T. Scanners, to include the X-ray and computer aspects. Formal training and a working knowledge of DEC (Digital Equipment Corp.) computers is a necessity. Experience with cancer therapy treatment planning system is beneficial. In addition, the candidate should have experience working throughout Europe.

Multilingual candidates are preferred.

Please forward your resume to:

**ALB. BERNER
DUMERLAN 22
3120 THESSLO
BELGIUM**

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(2) Specialist in Bio-technology of Corn. Candidates for this position should be in possession of a Master's Degree in a relevant Chemistry/Agriculture related subject and be specialised in the Bio-technology of Corn (Maize), industrial derivatives, with at least 10 years industrial experience in the application of the above subject. In addition, a good level of experience in training will be required.

Applications to be sent to Mr Theo Mathias, P.O. Box 346, LONDON NW3 5JG.

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We require experienced engineers to participate in the technical monitoring of a major new procurement of a second-generation Telecommunications Satellite Programme. Suitable candidates will have a minimum of 5 to 10 years experience in one or more of the following areas: Systems Engineering, Telecommunications, Telemetry, TT&C, Attitude and Orbit Control, Propulsion Systems, Power Generation and Conditioning, Thermal Control, Structures, Mechanisms, A/C, Product Assurance, Launch Vehicle Interfaces, Overall Programme Management. The posts will entail relocation to the Satellite Prime Contractor's premises in Europe for a period of up to 4 years. Salary will be commensurate with qualifications and experience and will include an attractive overseas allowance. Please fax your curriculum vitae to: Fax: 0181-4337833. For more information, please contact Mr J. Donohoe on: Tel: 0181-4337833 from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.



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Sponsored by the DTI

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- Intensive task-oriented instruction in written and spoken Japanese enabling you to write business letters, read newspapers and to conduct work-related and social conversations.
- Economic Survey of Contemporary Japan.
- "Business in Practice" element comprising seminars with personnel in Japanese companies and British Companies involved with Japan.
- Three month work-placement, university-based language study and short homestay in Sapporo, Hokkaido. Participants gain first hand knowledge of Japanese business and management techniques and become familiar with aspects of social and business etiquette difficult to teach in a non-Japanese context.

The programme has been highly successful in its first year. It is supported by major organisations, and has the full commitment of Hokkaido Economic-Federation.

Dates: April 1991-March 1992
Contact hours per week: Minimum of 20
Fee: £9,000. This includes return air fare to Japan and accommodation in Sapporo.

For brochure and further details contact: Wendy Moor, Japan Research Centre, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG
Tel: 071-537 2320 Fax: 071-435 3844

The Urban Council of Hong Kong requires a Music Director for its professional HONG KONG CHINESE ORCHESTRA

Salary and : Negotiable, but not less than HK\$350,000 (approximately £23,300 or Housing Allowance US\$44,800) per annum, plus a housing allowance
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The Orchestra, set up in 1977, is a fully professional Chinese orchestra under the direct finance and management of the Urban Council of Hong Kong. At present it has 85 full-time players. It presents some 110 concerts in a year. The Orchestra is established to promote Chinese music in Hong Kong.

Qualifications

- Good general education preferably at tertiary level with good command of both written and spoken Chinese; good command of English is an advantage.
- Well trained in music, preferably a graduate of a renowned conservatory/institution of music.
- A wide knowledge of Chinese and Western music.
- At least 10 years experience in conducting and preferably, music composition.
- Experience of artistic direction and administration in a professional orchestra.

Main duties

- To formulate an artistic policy for the development of the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra.
- To plan programmes and to prepare annual concert schedules for the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra and to recommend suitable guest conductors, soloists, choruses and composers.
- To conduct an agreed number of concerts by the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra.
- To convene and/or attend meetings of working committees appointed by the Urban Council relating to the Orchestra.
- To attend auditions and interviews for the recruitment and promotion of members of the Orchestra.
- To provide training for members of the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra with a view to improving the quality and standard of the Orchestra.

The successful candidate is expected to commence work in mid-1991.

Interested candidates should forward personal data and full details of previous experience no later than 21st December 1990 to:

Secretary, Urban Services
Urban Services Department
Headquarters
44/F, Queenway Government Offices
65 Queenway
Hong Kong

Envelopes should be marked "Application for Music Director, Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra".

All applications will be treated in the strictest confidence.

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Please enquiries can be made after the 26th November on 081 518 2275.

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The seminar will be held in London on Friday 7 December 1990. For further details please contact Appointments (38890), Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF (tel. 071-387 8572 ext.206; fax 071-383 0368) by 30 November 1990.

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Further particulars and application forms may be obtained from Appointments (38891), Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, U.K.; or from the Secretary, Faculty of Architecture, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong. The University's fax number is 852-556249. Closes 18 January 1991.

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Exchange Index compared with 1985 was up at 94.2 (day's range 94.1-94.3).			
STERLING SPOT AND FORWARD RATES		OTHER STERLING RATES	
Market rates for November 22			
Range	Close	1 month	3 month
New York	1.9355-1.9365	1.9890-1.9705	1.950-2.470p
Mex City	2.225-2.2270	2.2220-2.2230	0.52-0.470p
Amsterdam	3.2029-3.2014	3.2223-3.2088	31-31p
Buenos Aires			31-31p
Brussels			31-31p
Calcutta	11.7741-11.7761	11.7761-11.7223	76-57p
Dublin	1.0793-1.0803	1.0793-1.0803	30-30p
Hong Kong	1.0985-1.0985	1.0985-1.0985	81-73p
London	1.75-1.75	1.75-1.75	1.75-1.75
Lisbon	2.75-2.75	2.75-2.75	147-162p
Madrid	1.9430-1.9552	1.9430-1.9503	54-58p
Mumbai	1.9430-1.9552	1.9430-1.9503	54-58p
Oso	11.2775-11.4150	11.3848-11.4082	21-31p
Paris	5.8180-5.8085	5.8222-5.8408	81-74p
Rangoon	10.5910-10.5910	10.5910-10.5910	81-74p
Singapore	2.010-2.020p	2.010-2.020p	81-74p
Tokyo	2.470-2.505p	2.470-2.505p	21-162p
Verona	2.470-2.505p	2.470-2.505p	21-162p
Zurich	2.470-2.505p	2.470-2.505p	21-162p
Premium = p, Discount = d.			
Argentine austral*		12599.0-12000.3	
Australia dollar		2.6586-2.6581	
Bahian dollar			N/A
Bahraini dollar		240.00-240.00	N/A
Burmese kyat		0.851-0.841	N/A
Ceylon pound		0.851-0.841	N/A
Czech koruna		6.895-6.895	N/A
Danish krone		2.000-2.000	N/A
Hong Kong dollar		15.3384-15.3482	N/A
Indian rupee		35.35-35.73	N/A
Indonesian rupiah		1660-1660	N/A
Japanese yen		238.00-238.00	N/A
Malaysian ringgit		5.2940-5.2952	N/A
Mexican peso		2.000-2.000	N/A
New Zealand dollar		3.2170-3.2170	N/A
Saudi Arabian riyal		5.000-5.000	N/A
Singapore dollar		2.000-2.000	N/A
South African rand		4.8645-4.8638	N/A
S Africa rand (cont.)		4.8645-4.8638	N/A
Swedish krona		4.600-4.600	N/A
Thai baht		20.000-20.000	N/A
Yugoslav dinar		20.000-20.000	N/A
*Liquidity Reserve Bank of Argentina			
Esterl and Barclays Bank GTS			

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Open High Low Close Vol					Open High Low Close Vol				
FT-SE 100					Three Month ECU				
Previous open interest 57,002					Previous open interest 1604				
Dec 80	2180.0	2207.0	2140.0	2180.0	92.23	92.28	92.22	92.25	34
Dec 81	2200.0	2217.0	2190.0	2214	94.01	94.25	94.00	94.18	1309
Three Month Bankrate					US Treasury Bond				
Previous open interest 15,726					Previous open interest 5726				
Dec 80	93.57	93.58	93.50	93.57	94.24	94.25	94.18	94.18	1309
Dec 81	93.56	93.55	93.47	93.48	94.01	94.15	94.00	94.00	1309
Three Month Eurodollar					Long Gilt				
Previous open interest 45322					Previous open interest 29,147				
Dec 80	92.45	92.47	92.41	92.42	94.23	94.25	94.18	94.18	1309
Dec 81	92.45	92.44	92.45	92.45	94.01	94.15	94.00	94.00	1309
Three Month Euro DM					German Govt Bond				
Previous open interest 78351					Previous open interest 110,522				
Dec 80	93.50	93.50	93.50	93.50	94.23	94.25	94.18	94.18	1309
Dec 81	93.10	93.07	93.07	93.07	94.01	94.15	94.00	94.00	1309

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Safety officials close 48 Northeast firms

Little trees hold great charm

By DAVID THURLLOW

OFFICIALS from the Health and Safety Executive have closed 48 small businesses during a week of visits in Yorkshire and northeast England this month. Another 75 were ordered to improve their safety conditions (Brian Collett writes).

The investigators, who made 1,850 visits in the area, were carrying out one of a series of campaigns to check safety in small businesses.

The campaigns began after the executive became worried that conditions in many small businesses were unacceptable, following its own report that injuries were at least 20 per cent more likely in manufacturing plants with fewer than 50 employees than in larger companies.

Some campaigns are being concentrated on geographical areas, others on sections of industry. They can last several weeks and may involve the local council's environmental health officers. The executive has just begun a campaign covering most of East Anglia, and a long investigation of the construction industry in the Midlands.

The workplace conditions investigated by officials include ventilation, atmosphere dust, chemical-handling practices and machine safety.

A spokesman for the executive said: "Safety is not a bolt-on thing. It is an intrinsic part of business and can make economic sense. "Publicity about injuries or fatalities caused by negligence can ruin a small business."

In one case, a garage owner's health suffered because he used

toxic paint without adequate precautions. As a result, he had to sell the business and is unlikely to work again.

In addition to breaches of health and safety regulations, the inspectors found that many businesses had not registered with the executive. People starting businesses that come under the Factories Act's jurisdiction, must register them in writing with the executive. In Northern Ireland they have to be registered with the equivalent Health and Safety Agency.

During their visits to Yorkshire and the Northeast, the investigators found nearly a third of the premises inspected had not been registered. This month, 103 of 296 businesses visited in Doncaster were unregistered, five were closed and six received improvement notices.

Investigators find that most employers try to attain good health and safety standards, and few of the 2,500 prosecutions every year are for non-registration.

The executive's spokesman said persuasion is one of the best weapons and had publicity is a powerful deterrent. The executive advises all business owners to register, even if they are unsure whether they fall under the Factories Act, and to obtain the Safety Pays report and the updated *Essentials of Health and Safety at Work*.

● *Safety Pays* is available free from the Health and Safety Executive; *Essentials of Health and Safety at Work* can be obtained from the Stationery Office and booksellers and costs £3.50.

IN A county where thousands of tall coniferous trees are grown, Brian Choat, a retired farmer, has chosen to grow Christmas trees that are only one foot high.

Mr Choat, who lives in Norfolk, has imported pinus pinea (Italian stone pine) seeds from California and has grown 50,000 little trees, which he hopes to sell during the festive season. They are known as miniature Christmas trees in America.

These attractive, living trees, which can be repotted, are being sold in Britain on a commercial scale for the first time by Pinewood Tree Farms, Mr Choat's company.

He plans to make them as popular in this country as they are in America, where no Christmas dinner table is complete without one.

Mr Choat, aged 61, who has been joined in the tree growing project by Pamela Russell, discovered the trees in the plant department of a supermarket in Las Vegas while he was on holiday in America.

At his five acre farm at Hainford, near Norwich, where great forests of pine trees cover acres of countryside, Mr Choat said: "They were so attractive in their decorated state that I thought there might be a market here."

"Most things eventually come here from America and I had never seen them before. I thought that they were something that would add to the Christmas table just as they do over there. It seemed to me a pleasant variation on the trend of giving a potted plant for Christmas."

He traced the supplier to Half



Branching out: Pamela Russell and Brian Choat with the trees

Moon Bay in San Francisco and learnt that the trees originally came from the area around the Mediterranean. Mr Choat then found the firm that supplied the seeds.

When he returned home, Mr Choat contacted the Forestry Commission and Kew Gardens,

which both told him that no one was growing pinus pinea in Britain and that there was no restriction on importing the seeds.

Mr Choat investigated the financial and marketing sides of a potential business in growing the trees and decided it held possibilities. He said: "I saw that it was

something new and extra for Christmas and I was confident, even in these depressed times, that it was worth starting and investing in a new venture."

Mr Choat bought a thermally insulated plastic tunnel from France, covering the size of two tennis courts, in which to grow the trees. He planted 30,000 seeds just after Christmas last year.

The total outlay, including the cost of seeds, at about \$15 for 50, the tunnel and labour was about £25,000.

Pinewood Tree Farms employs one person full time and 30 people part time.

The seeds grew well, aided by the fine summer, which helped germination reach a success rate of 85 per cent.

The trees are now being potted and decorated with tinsel before going on sale before this Christmas.

Supermarkets, multiples and markets have already booked three quarters of the crop and the rest will be sold locally.

Mr Choat said: "If it is a success and profitable, which it certainly appears at the moment, we have plans for a bigger crop next year with much more up-market decorations."

Pamela has already been to the Far East to study what is on offer for these trees and it is quite beautiful."

Mr Choat has enough seeds to plant a quarter of a million trees next year and those that are not sold this year - although he does not expect many will be left on the shelf - will grow into petite pines of two to two and a half feet, shaped and planted in large pots, for bigger displays in homes.

BRIEFINGS

■ FRANCHISING is still growing in popularity, but in the 12 months to last June, overall turnover growth for the industry showed signs of running out of steam. The £5.24 million in sales was only 10.8 per cent up on the year before. Annual growth in the two previous years had been more than 20 per cent a year. There was a 60 per cent jump in 1988-89. The number of franchised systems is up 26 per cent to 379 in the past 12 months, indicating an underlying growth trend of 12 per cent a year. The trends are disclosed in the latest annual survey commissioned by the British Franchise Association and sponsored by National Westminster Bank. Copies are £75 from the BFA. Telephone 0451 578049.

■ A PROGRAMME of evening business briefings at about £40 a time, organised by the Enterprise Training Centre of Newington Causeway, London, includes a talk by Professor Charles Handy next Wednesday, on ways of organising smaller businesses. The following evening Wally Olins of the Olins design agency will discuss issues of corporate identity. Details of later briefings can be obtained from the ETC at 071-403 0300.

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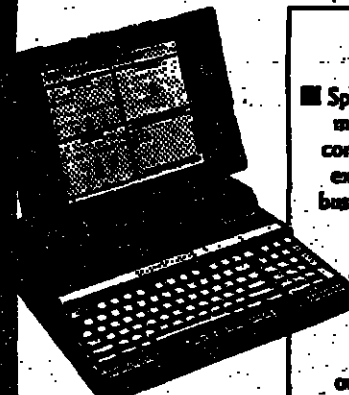
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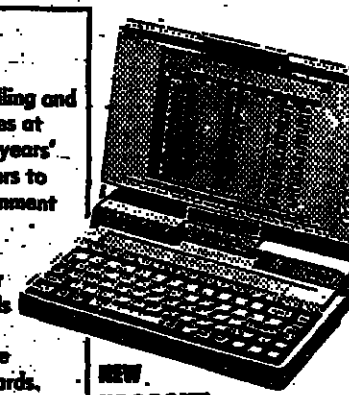
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England waiting anxiously for surgeon's verdict

FROM ALAN LEE
CRICKET CORRESPONDENT
BRISBANE

AS THE Ashes series was launched in Brisbane today, Graham Gooch was keeping a special appointment with a specialist which would dictate whether England summoned an additional opening batsman.

Gooch had more than 30 stitches removed from his right hand yesterday, almost a fortnight after the surgery on a gashed finger which had taken in poison. But if his own doubtful assessment of his speed of recovery is matched by the doctor he sees today, the England management will have no alternative but to seek an extra player.

Micky Stewart, the team manager, confirmed last night: "A definite decision will be made by Saturday at the latest. What we need from the surgeon is a virtual guarantee that Graham is a stone-cold certainty to be ready for the second Test in Melbourne."

"To be ready, he has not just got to be fit in time for the match but prepared to make 200. The cricket side has to be considered as well as the medical side and that means he must play at least one four-day game before the Test. If there is any chance that this might not be on, we must get another player."

Stewart dropped a broad hint that the replacement would be called from England

First Test teams

AUSTRALIA: from A R Border (captain), G R Marsh, M A Taylor, D G Brunt, D W Jones, S R Waugh, S R Matthews, I A Healy, M G Hughes, T M Alderman, B A Reid, C G Rackemann.
ENGLAND: from A J Lamb (captain), M A Atherton, W Larkins, D Gower, R A Smith, A J Stewart, C C Lewis, R C Russell, G C Small, A R C Fraser, D E Malcom, E E Hemmings.

by saying that he would need 48 hours to prepare himself, and that surely points to Glamorgan's Hugh Morris, who should have been in the original selection but drew the consolation prize of captaining the England A tour to Pakistan.

If he is to be Gooch's deputy, then a new leader must be found for that trip, which is due to start in mid-January.

The rich irony is that, should Morris be called, he may well find himself contesting a place with Wayne Larkins, an astonishing selection for the tour whose form leading up to today's Test may well have hastened the management's view that new blood is needed.

Larkins was named in the unchanged top six for the Test from those who played in the four-day match in Hobart, as England stayed faithful to their original strategy despite the alarming absence of evidence that they have the right players at two and three. Allan

Lamb and Robin Smith, the fulcrum of the batting, are at four and five.

England considered the adventurous option of including the uncapped Philip Tufnell in their 12 but finally settled for the trusted formula with Eddie Hemmings.

It is doubtful if the England camp needed any further problems on the eve of the series, but they managed to create some for themselves by the curious decision to deny all branches of the media access to the players.

This was a decision which met with no sympathy from Australia's team manager, Ian McDonald, who doubles up as media manager for international cricket. In what amounted to an accusation that the England management had no thought for the difficult marketing of Test cricket in a country which has become obsessed by the one-day product, he said: "I think it is disappointing that they are not accepting the responsibilities that other visiting teams over the years have accepted."

"We have worked hard to make players aware of the media because we have to get people into the grounds, particularly for the Tests."

The Gabba will certainly not be full for any day of this first Test. Only 10,000 tickets had been sold up to yesterday.

Fraser the key, page 38
Pakistan's changes, page 38



Putting their country first: Mark Mouland (left) consults Ian Woosnam during the first round at Grand Cypress

Falling into a watery grave

FROM MITCHELL PLATT
GOLF CORRESPONDENT
ORLANDO

PAYNE Stewart, of the United States, has described the huge lake which divides the 9th and 18th fairways of the Grand Cypress course as being "just fine", although he would probably wish to review that assessment following the second round of the World Cup of Golf here yesterday.

Stewart was five under par for the first eight holes before he came to grief at the 9th by taking six after driving into the water.

Not that Stewart was alone in encountering problems at this hole as a strengthening wind made the narrow entry to the green a more menacing target than is usually the case.

Ireland's prospects of repairing the damage of an indifferent first round receded when David Feherty took seven at the 9th and Sam Torrance later walked from the green shaking his head in despair after marking a six on his card. Ian Woosnam was also in the water as he and Mark Mouland each took five

Card of the course

Hole	Yds	Par	Hole	Yds	Par
1	363	4	10	302	4
2	510	5	11	519	5
3	185	3	12	108	3
4	185	3	13	133	3
5	451	4	14	394	4
6	591	5	15	639	5
7	383	4	16	405	4
8	192	3	17	193	3
9	435	4	18	435	4

Out 3,410 35 In 3,241 35
Total yardage: 6,751 Pts 72

For Wales and Mark James had a five for England.

For Stewart it was particularly annoying as he seemed on the threshold of celebrating Thanksgiving Day by putting the United States into a commanding lead. He showed his displeasure by twice throwing clubs as he reflected on where it was best to drop his ball and again when, after holing out, he tossed his ball into the lake.

Even so, Stewart, who had holed from 18 feet at the 4th hole for his fourth successive birdie, turned in 33 and he left the 10th green in a happier frame of mind following a birdie to put the United States back in front, ahead of England.

The prospect of England retaining the lead that they

established following a first round when Richard Buxall and James each took 68 dwindled when James hooked his second into the pond en route to a seven at the 2nd.

James, however, demonstrated his powers of recovery with three birdies in the next six holes, holing putts ranging from six to 12 feet, and Buxall continued to belie his inexperience in international competition by holing from ten feet at the 2nd and 4th before coaxing home a putt of 25 feet at the 7th.

Buxall also salvaged a four at the 9th, although the same was not true of James. He missed the green to the right, chipped down to three feet, but failed to hole the putt.

Torrance failed to find a solution to the mysteries of the 2nd when he hit his approach into the water. He was eventually out in 38 and with Gordon Brand Jr taking 37 to the turn, Scotland had fallen back into the pack.

Woosnam made a powerful start for Wales with four birdies in his first six holes. He came out of a bunker to 12 inches at the 2nd and holed

from ten feet, 12 feet and 25 feet at the 3rd, 5th and 6th respectively. However, he hit his second shot into the water for a five at the 9th, where Mark Mouland dropped a shot for the third hole in succession.

Ronan Rafferty, out in 32, provided Ireland with a marvellous start, but like so many others, Rafferty lost his way at the 9th. He hooked his drive into the water, hit his third into a bunker, his next into another bunker and took three more to get down.

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Thailand, 140 Wales (I Woosnam 72, M McDonald 69), 141 Sweden (M Langer 67, M Persson 74), Republic of Korea (Y T Kim 70, S Langer 71), 142 Ireland (D Feherty 70, R Rafferty 72), Canada (New Zealand, 143 Australia, 144 Denmark, 145 Mexico, Switzerland, France, Taipei, 146 Jamaica, Italy, 147 Brazil, Netherlands, Bermuda, Colombia, 152 Japan, Philippines, 154 Singapore, 155 Iceland, 156 Fiji, 157 Puerto Rico, 158 Czechoslovakia, 159 United States of America (B S Sankaranarayanan 67, R Lanner 67), A Scotland (D Brand 64, M McDonald 69), J Rivero 69), F Buxall 69, P Stewart 69, C L Carabott 69, M James 69, G Torrance 69, G Brand Jr 69, 137 Spain (M-A Jimenez 64, J Rivero 69), 136 Scotland (G Torrance 69, G Brand Jr 69), Argentina (R Guzman 69, L Carabott 69), United States (J Stewart 69, P Stewart 69, 139 Thailand, 140 Wales (I Woosnam 72, M McDonald 69), 141 Sweden (M Langer 67, M Persson 74), Republic of Korea (Y T Kim 70, S Langer 71), 142 Ireland (D Feherty 70, R Rafferty 72), Canada 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